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**ACPL ITEM
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The Story of the Jew

7764
For Young People

BY

Elma Ehrlich Levinger

Author of "Bible Stories for Very Little People",
"Great Jews Since Bible Days", "Jewish Festivals
in the Religious School", "My Confirmation", etc.

AND

Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, Ph. D.

Author of "A Jewish Chaplain in France", "Anti-
Semitism in the United States", "The History of
The Jews in the United States".

BEHRMAN'S JEWISH BOOK SHOP

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To

EDWIN J. SCHANFARBER

in all friendship



"The Eternal Riddle"

*Hated and Hunted,
Ever thou wand'rest,
Bearing a message:
God is but One!*

*Israel, my people,
God's greatest riddle,
Will thy solution
Ever be told?*

—P. M. RASKIN

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PREFACE

This work is an attempt to summarize the great events of Jewish history for young people of confirmation and post-confirmation age. Obviously, the Story of the Jew is too long and contains too many difficult problems for any high school student to grasp it in its entirety; but it is vital that the young Jew shall have some sense of this great living drama of which he himself is a part.

Considering the complexity of its subject, this book is written with the utmost simplicity. There are also the usual aids to study, adapted from histories used in junior and senior high schools, so that this may constitute a practical text book for the pupil, while the teacher may read further along the lines of problems involved. Class projects are suggested from time to time on which a further year of work may be based, or which may lend greater interest to the study itself.

The attempt is made here to view the long, colorful career of the Jewish people in a realistic, many-sided manner; not exclusively from the national or the religious angle. In fact, if there is any thesis at all in this book, it is rather that of the four major tendencies of Jewish life as defined by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver—prophecy, legalism, mysticism and nationalism, the woven strand of these four composing Jewish history.

In proportion, this book has followed a sound psychological method, giving least space to the biblical period, which is furthest removed and which the child has already studied in the lower grades of the religious school; more and more attention is given to each period as it comes nearer the present and grows more interesting and more important to the American student of the twentieth century.

E. E. L.
L. J. L.

Columbus, Ohio, 5688-1928.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book was exhausted within a month. It was introduced in many schools throughout the country. The new edition contains additional matter: index, maps, charts and illustrations.

January, 1929.

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The Story of the Jew

The Story of the Jew

The Story of the Jew

I.

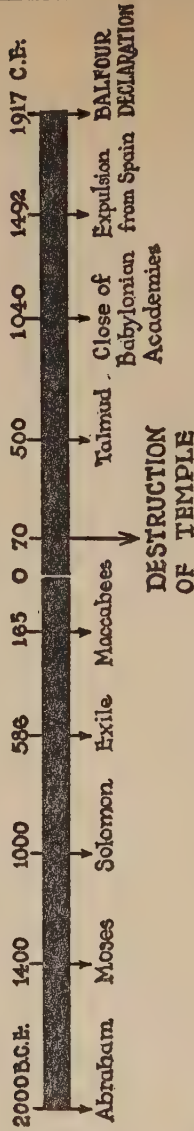
THE WANDERING JEW

If you were to begin a journey around the world today, there is no land in which you would not find at least a few of the wandering Children of Israel. In Palestine, the ancient home-land, you would find Jews from every corner of the globe: brown Jews from Tunis and Algeria, Jews from the shattered ghettos of Russia and Poland, Jews from free America. In Abyssinia you would meet the Falashas, black Jews who have almost forgotten their Judaism, who in every way but a few religious rites resemble the dark-skinned, thick-lipped natives among whom they have lived so long. In China, you might visit the deserted synagogue of the handful of Chinese Jews, who have long called that far-off empire their home.

You would find Jews in every European country: Germany, France, England. You might see them on many a ship ploughing its way through the waters which separate the persecuted sons of Jacob from the freedom of Brazil and Argentine. While here in America you would discover Jews scattered from ocean to ocean; in factories and upon their farms; a mere handful in some little Western village; in New York a mighty company, more Jews than ever lived in Jerusalem when Solomon reigned there in all his golden glory. For the Jew has wandered to every spot upon the earth in his age-long search for safety and a home.

Whence and how did these Jews travel to the lands where we find them today? What has been the history of the fifteen millions of Jews, today far-flung from pole to pole?

GREAT DATES OF JEWISH HISTORY



Why is it that four million—one fourth of all the Jewish population of the world—live in the United States? What adventures have beset the path of the Wandering Jew as his weary feet carried him from land to land, from the almost forgotten journey through the Wilderness of Sinai to our own time?

There is an old, old legend of the Wandering Jew, a tragic figure bowed beneath a curse, forced to flee from land to land without ever finding lasting shelter, miraculously doomed to eternal life. He is a true picture of his people, a race of wanderers, who, during the ages, have journeyed through every country, tossed upon every sea: slaves in Egypt and princes in Spain, beggars in Russia and banker kings in Germany, dreamy scholars in Poland and practical statesmen in England and America. He has suffered under every tyrant from Pharaoh of old to the Czar of Russia. He has seen the destruction and punishment of his persecutors from Rome to Austria. He has witnessed the growth of the Thirteen Colonies from a weak, dis-united people into a mighty nation, these United States of America. In our own day his hands have ploughed the fields and dug the trenches and broken the roads of the New Palestine. A traveller in every land, a toiler in every vineyard, a soldier on every battlefield, the Wandering Jew carries in his heart the most varied and richest history that has ever blest a nation!

In the pages that follow we will trace the steps of the Eternal Wanderer from the beginning of his many journeys, the trek of a shepherd folk across a desert country, when Abraham, the Father of the Jewish people, called his family together before his tent of black goats' hair and bade them follow him into a new place where they might worship the One God. We will see the persecuted Hebrews

in Egypt, toiling under the shadows of the pyramids, setting out under the guidance of that God-sent Shepherd, Moses, to find the Promised Land. We will hear the Ten Words which laid upon the world new commandments of righteousness, and the thundering of the prophets, whose words still are a golden heritage, not only to the Jew but to all the civilized nations of the earth.

We will watch the wandering people as they set out on the first of their many exiles; but even under the willows of far-off Babylon they will cherish the dream of the Return, until at last Ezra and Nehemiah will guide the homesick exiles back to Jerusalem. Again walls will rise about Jerusalem; but once more we will behold the exiles driven along the roads that lead to Rome, while upon the desolate hill of Zion the flames from Roman torches leave of the Temple only a blackened Western Wall, destined to be hallowed by countless prayers and tears.

But though an exile from his home-land and his Temple, the Wanderer remained in heart a citizen of Jerusalem, to which his eyes ever turned in prayer. The homeless race, a people without a land, became the People of the Book, a keeper of the holy Torah. In the little village of Jabneh, and later in the prison-house of Rabbi Akiba, the rabbis carried on the work of the priests, who had served in the Temple, and of the prophets, who had defied the ungodly kings of Israel and of Judah. First in Palestine, later amid the dim, rich glories of Babylon, the rabbis compiled their Talmud; exiled and persecuted, the scholars of Judah forged a chain of learning which was to bind the Jew forever to his glorious past. The People had created the Book; now the Book re-created the People. . . . A man with dreamy eyes bending over an open Book is our picture of Israel in his exile.

Now we will follow the bleeding feet of the Wanderer to the goodly land of Spain, where for a while it seemed that the lot of the hunted people had fallen in pleasant places. In those golden days in Spain poets like Judah Halevi sang their songs, often songs which a true son of Spain might have written, yet sometimes tinged with a longing for the Holy City, Jerusalem, which they could not forget. To this same period belongs Maimonides, master of Jewish law, philosopher, and physician to the Sultan of Egypt. Here the slaves of Rome became free men again and moved proudly among the statesmen and scholars of Moorish Spain.

But the pleasant land of Spain was, after all, only a frail Succah, a temporary dwelling in the Wilderness. The sunrise glories of the Wanderer's sojourn in Spain slowly dimmed to darkness; in later days, those who had considered it their true home died at the stake as martyrs or were driven into exile. No Jew remained in Spain save those who, for the sake of their lives and possessions promised to accept Christianity. They became Marranos (Secret Jews), who never really forsook the faith of their fathers, but continued to practise the forbidden rites of Israel in secret places, although they knew that such observances, if discovered, would mean imprisonment or death by torture. It was a group of these Marranos who offered the bigoted sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, enough gold to fit out three ships for an obscure Italian adventurer, Christopher Columbus, that he might find a new and shorter route to India. On the day that he set sail upon the Sea of Darkness, never dreaming that he would find a new land, nor that it would some day prove a place of refuge for the Jew and other persecuted ones of the earth, thousands of Jews left Spain, exiles driven out into a world that had little wel-

come or pity for the wretched sons of Israel.

It was the Ninth of Ab, the day on which the Temple at Jerusalem had been twice destroyed; the exiles wept over the grief that had come to Israel more than fourteen centuries earlier as they mourned their own fate. How could they know that the year 1492 was a shield with two sides, one of mourning and one of joy, a year that was to mark their exile from Spain and the discovery of a new and friendly land!

Those who survived the horrors of that exile passed from the sunny groves of Spain to the penned-in Ghettos of Italy and Germany. If we picture the Wanderer through those years that began in the darkness of the Spanish expulsion and ended in the sunrise of the French Revolution, we think of him as a weary old man, a frightened look in his eyes, a staff in one hand, a holy book clasped to his breast. For the Ghetto taught the Jew fear and the bitterness of slavery. It did more than pen him within crowded, narrow streets, behind great gates which were locked at night; even when those gates were open the Jew felt cut off and isolated from the Gentile world. He wore the yellow cap of shame; he was spat upon and mocked; often without warning the mob would storm the gates of the Ghetto and break into his home, sparing in its intolerant hate neither the old scholar nor the helpless child. No wonder that his eyes always held a look of fear, that his back always cringed, that he was glad to forget the miseries and the hatred of the world outside the Ghetto in the home festivals of his people, in the study of his holy Torah.

Try to think of the Jew of that day as an exile and wanderer, hounded now from France, now from England; an exile even in the lands which granted him a home, for everywhere he was made to feel that he was the son of a

peculiar people. No wonder that in spite of the difficulties and the dangers of the journey, more than one Jewish pilgrim sought Palestine, little more than a barren spot in the wilderness, but the one place on earth which he might truly call his home.

In the course of time the Wanderer came to Poland also, that wild and barbarous country where even at this day he is considered an unwanted alien. Even more than in the Ghetto of Germany, the Jew of Poland and Russia sought refuge in himself, finding in his own religion and in his own learning the little happiness and peace which his neighbors could not destroy. Here in Eastern Europe arose the conflict between the Talmudists and the mystic group of Chasidim, a sect that embraced a great portion of East European Jewry. Such men as Elijah Gaon, teacher of the Law, and the Baal Shem Tov (the dreamy Master of the Name), are as truly voices of this period as Judah Halevi and Maimonides were of theirs.

At last the Wanderer passes into the World Period of his varied history, that portion of his journey in which the sons of Jacob were scattered as never before. Consider that Salonica has a larger percentage of Jews than any other city in the world. Think for a moment of the many Jewish citizens not only in England, but in all its dependencies, Canada, Australia, and even India, where a Jew, Rufus Isaacs (Lord Reading) ruled as viceroy. Picture to yourself the former Pale, that broad belt of land stretching across Eastern Europe, in which at least eight million Jews lived before the World War, beginning in Lithuania, passing through Poland, the Ukraine, Galicia and Roumania down to Constantinople. A people, who, according to the old promise given to Abraham, were to be as widely scattered as the sand upon the shores of the sea!

The beginning of this World Period for Jewry dawned with the Declaration of Independence in 1776, when the North American colonies proclaimed their doctrine of perfect equality and freedom for every citizen, no matter of what race and religion. Freedom for the European Jew began with the French Revolution, a few years later; then came the political emancipation under Napoleon, the spiritual emancipation through Moses Mendelssohn. Himself the product of the German Ghetto, this hunch-backed little scholar brought the light of learning to his people; while his friend, Lessing, a leader in German thought and literature, pleaded for tolerance for all men.

But while later champions of the Jew, like Riesser of Germany and Macaulay of England, fought for the political emancipation of the Jew, a new form of an old evil arose throughout Europe, anti-Semitism. Formerly the Jew had been hated and persecuted because of his religion; now in Germany, and later in France, prejudice against the Jewish people was based upon the teachings of the scholars who declared that the Semites were a lower and degraded race, and that the Jew should always be considered an alien among peoples with a European heritage and culture. Now the legal persecution gave way to social discrimination; Jews were not allowed to hold full professorships in German universities nor any rank in the German army. This hatred grew until at the end of the nineteenth century it culminated in the Dreyfus case in France.

Many believed that the World War, during which Jewish soldiers bled and died upon every battlefield of Europe, would bring an era of peace and goodwill to all mankind. But in the months that followed the Treaty of Versailles, occurred some of the most terrible massacres in Jewish history. Many communities in Russia and Poland which had

survived the horrors of famine and of invasion were swept away. The hate which war always engenders took a terrible toll of the martyred nation whose ancient daily salutation is "Peace" (Shalom).

Again a shield of two faces, one of darkness, one of light, confronts us. Such centers of Jewish learning and culture as Wolozhin and Vilna have been sadly crippled by the World War; as yet no community in war-broken Europe has been able to take their place. Will a few Jewish scholars in America, with its unlimited resources of wealth and opportunity, take up the torch dropped from the hand of the European rabbis and scholars?

We see a picture of doubt and uncertainty. But there is joy in the heart of the Wanderer as he turns to the spot which he has never forgotten, the little land of long-ago, the little land of Palestine. The Western Wall, blackened by time and wet with tears of many exiles, still remains; but those who pause within its shadows need no longer weep. In the schools of Palestine little children from all parts of the world recite their lessons in Hebrew, the language of our prophets, now revived as a living tongue after these many years. In the colonies of Palestine, devoted young men and women from every corner of the earth teach the long-barren fields to blossom afresh. To these pioneers the journey of the Wandering Jew is over at last.

Meanwhile, in every land beneath the sun, the Jewish people are living and working out their own destiny as part of the history of the world. What their future history will be no one dares prophesy; we can only hope that it will be no less heroic than the history of the past which we will now trace together as we read the "Story of the Jew."

BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY

As Jewish history is such an immense subject for study, there are many other books to which we can refer for further knowledge of the different matters treated in this book. After every chapter we shall refer to some of these, the simpler ones for the pupils, the more difficult for the teachers; every school library should contain these works.

For pupils there are especially:

Michael Alper: The Bible Retold.

J. Reizenstein: Biblical History.

Jack Meyers: The Story of the Jewish People, 3 volumes.

M. H. Harris: The People of the Book, 3 volumes.

Thousand Years of Jewish History.

History of the Medieval Jews.

Modern Jewish History.

For older pupils:

Adele Bildersee: Jewish Post-biblical History through Great Personalities.

For Younger pupils:

Max Weis: Great Men in Israel.

Elma Ehrlich Levinger: Great Jews Since Bible Times.

For teachers there is greater variety. The Jewish Encyclopedia (12 vols.) has hundreds of interesting articles on every nation, period and person mentioned in this book. The Encyclopedia for Jewish Home and School is a one-volume work of similar scope.

There are also:

The Holy Scriptures (Jewish Publication Society).

H. Graetz: History of the Jews, 6 volumes.

S. M. Dubnow: An Outline of Jewish History, 3 volumes.

Margolis and Marx: A History of the Jewish People; this is in one big volume, and is the latest and most concise of these great works.

I. Elbogen: History of the Jews after the Fall of the Jewish State.

Special works will be referred to in different chapters. But every teacher should read S. M. Dubnow: Jewish History, a little book which gives a general view of every period by one who knows the facts. Fine extracts from the various original writers will be found in:

J. H. Hertz: A Book of Jewish Thoughts.

B. Halper: Post Biblical Hebrew Literature.

P. Raskin: Anthology of Modern Jewish Poetry.

For the modern period, there are two excellent studies:

A. L. Sachar: Factors in Modern Jewish History, a syllabus.

Max Raisin: History of the Jews in Modern Times.

In addition, the teacher of Jewish history should study for background some brief history of the world, including all the various ages and lands in which the Jew has lived, such as:

H. G. Wells: Outline of History.

Hendrick W. Van Loon: Story of Mankind.

There are other one-volume Jewish histories, to which we are not referring in this book because they do not present any greatly differing material from the history as written here.

In addition, there is some excellent fiction and poetry, both for children and adults, which will give reality and color to many of the periods of Jewish history. These will be mentioned in connection with the different chapters, as also some biographies and other historical works on special topics. "Apples and Honey," a collection of such material, is a general work that should be in every religious school library.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Where do Jews live today? Where did they originate?
2. In what lands have Jews had great centers in the past?
3. Why did they leave these places?
4. What is the special nature of the modern period for the Jew?
5. What is the problem of the Jews at the present time?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. How many Jews are there in the world? Where do they live? You will find your facts in the American Jewish Yearbook.
2. Are the Jews a race? You can debate this subject, or study the facts on both sides for a class discussion.
3. How Jewish history differs from that of other nations, such as the American. Its length, its spread to many countries, the loyalty of the Jews without a land or government, their resistance to persecution, and other points which you will be able to work out and prove.

4. As a class project to study the historical background of our own lives, trace the family history of the members of the class for three generations, seeing where they all came from and how they gathered together in one city; or the history of the Jews of your own city, to find out where the earliest settlers came from, the later comers down to the present, how many of the present day Jews came from various countries, how many were born in your city, and so on. This last will be largely estimated, but will teach you much about that history which is a real part of our own lives.

II.

THE JEWS IN BIBLE DAYS

1. **The Three Great Divisions in Jewish History.** The history of the world is usually divided into three great periods; ancient history, ending with the fall of Rome in the year 486; medieval history from 486 to the discovery of America in 1492; and modern history, extending from the discovery of the New World to our own day.

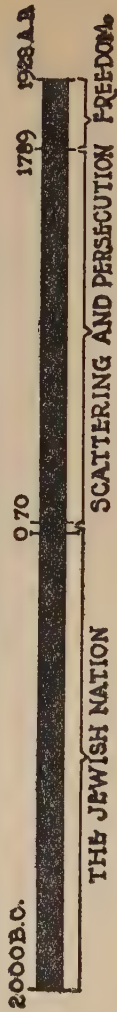
The history of the Jews is the only one of all the peoples in Europe and America which falls within all three divisions, ancient, medieval and modern. But the divisions of Jewish history are different from those of world history. The ancient history of the Jews as a separate nation is that long period extending from their earliest beginnings to the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in the year 70 C. E. (Common Era). Medieval history for the Jews is the painful story of their scattering into many lands and their persecutions in various countries; it began when they were driven forth from Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 70; it ended with the French Revolution of 1789. The modern period of Jewish history begins with the freedom brought by the French Revolution, and continues through our own times.

As we study the Story of the Jew we must remember that his long and varied history has been made during many centuries and in many lands all over the world. But first we must realize that for two thousand years, half of their recorded history, the Jewish people existed as a nation in

WORLD HISTORY



JEWISH HISTORY



and near Palestine. The next seventeen hundred years were spent in exile among the nations of Europe and Asia. The last one hundred and fifty years have seen the Jew accepted as an equal citizen in all the leading nations of the earth, the growth of a Jewish center in America, and the beginning of a triumphant return to Palestine.

2. How the World Phase of Jewish History Began. When we studied Bible history in the lower grades of our Religious School, many of us did not realize the importance of this long residence in the homeland. We did not see Palestine as the stage of the Jew's national life for almost half of his history. We did not understand how deeply the lessons learned in Palestine had sunk into the Jewish soul, or how powerfully the laws worked out there would some day govern his life and his thought in the faraway lands of exile. For in these two thousand years, ending in the fall of the Temple at Jerusalem before the Roman legions, the Jew on his home soil developed for himself the two great ideas, which have made him different from all the other nations. These two ideas are monotheism and the prophetic ideals.

Monotheism is the Jew's passionate belief in one God; even to this day it forms the keynote of his religion. At first, like all great ideas, this conception of one God grew very slowly. In the beginning of their tribal history, the Jews, like all primitive peoples worshipped a national God, the God of Israel. But little by little they came to believe in a God who was not only national but universal, not only the God of Israel but the Father of all mankind. The two daughter religions of Israel, Christianity and Mohammedanism, accepted this teaching. Through them the idea of one God, first expressed by a conquered and despised little nation, spread to the uttermost corners of the earth.

Prophecy, the second peculiar gift of the Jewish people, also took root and flourished in Palestine. In the next chapter we shall study the growth of prophecy from its simplest beginnings to its final and lofty triumph. We need only record here that prophecy which was born in Palestine influenced the religion and morals not only of the Jewish people but of all the foremost nations of our own day.

3. The Hebrews Come to Palestine. Jewish history begins to assume a definite shape about the year 1200 B. C. E., (Before Common Era) when we discover scattered Hebrew tribes already living in Palestine. But as early as 2000 B. C. E. we have the stories of the fathers of the Jewish people, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Then comes the tale of the sons of Jacob and their adventures in the court of Pharaoh, where Joseph, once a slave, now ruled as lord over Egypt. Monuments of that hazy, far-off time repeat the story of Moses, the shepherd leader, and the Exodus from Egypt, although it is not certain whether all of the tribes, which were later to constitute the Jewish nation, ever suffered under the shadows of the pyramids.

According to the Book of Judges the conquest of the land, promised to Moses and the slave multitude which he had led from Egypt, was extremely slow and painful. Equally slow and painful was the growth of that purer faith which these invaders from the desert of Sinai brought into Canaan. The religion of the Canaanites consisted largely of the worship of the forces of nature; this worship was accompanied by many disgusting practises to influence the gods of fertility on whom these primitive farmers depended for their daily bread. Again and again many of the Hebrews turned from the God they had worshipped in the austere desert to serve the gods of the fertile fields of Canaan. But by the time Samuel, the last of the Judges,

ruled at the Sanctuary at Shiloh, the Lord of the Hebrews had come to be the all powerful God of the Israelites.

4. The Tribes Become a Nation. It was Samuel who called Saul, first of the kings of Israel, from his work upon his father's farm, to sit upon the throne and rule, the scattered tribes of Israel for twelve troubled years. Saul was harried by the Philistine invaders on the borders of his kingdom; later by the followers of his son-in-law, David, eager to place their outlawed leader upon the throne. The short and tragic history of the family of Saul ended on Mount Gilboa, where the first king of Israel and his son, Jonathan, fell in battle before the spears of the victorious Philistines. The elegy of the house of Saul, "How are the mighty fallen!" is the most beautiful of the few early Hebrew songs which have come down to us. It was sung by David, Jonathan's rival, but still his dearest friend.

This brilliant young warrior, who succeeded Saul, managed, through his long and successful reign, not only to expel the last of the Philistines from the land, but to weld the loosely organized tribes within the borders of Israel into a strong and united nation. The seat of his government and the national religion was at Jerusalem, a naturally fortified city which he captured from the Jebusites. But David was even greater as poet than as warrior. Not only to the Jew, but to the Christian, his chief claim to fame is in being the "sweet singer of Israel," the author of many of the Psalms. It is not surprising that this most beloved of kings has become enshrined in the Jewish heart. Nor can we wonder that even in our own day many Jews believe that from the House of David will come the Messiah, the anointed and all-powerful ruler who will lead Israel from exile back to its olden glory.

ANCIENT PALESTINE AT DAVID'S TIME



David died in the year 973 B. C. E. after a reign of thirty-three brilliant years. At first it seemed that Solomon, the son whom he had appointed to rule after him, would carry on the prosperity the Shepherd King had brought to Israel; for the period of Solomon was one of expansion. His alliances with the daughters of foreign kings extended the boundaries and the power of his kingdom. It was a time for encouraging the fine arts which the Israelites were just beginning to learn from their more highly cultured allies, Phoenicia and Egypt. On Mount Moriah arose the Temple, dreamed of by David, dedicated with hitherto unimagined pomp by his son. Solomon is also credited with the elaborate Temple ritual, which began about that time, and the authorship of several books of the Bible.

5. The Nation Becomes Two Kingdoms. This program of a large army, a luxurious court and magnificent buildings meant increased taxation; the sorely burdened populace began to grumble. Those who had suffered discontent during Solomon's reign in secret broke out in active rebellion upon the ascension of his son Rehoboam. Although outwardly united for common defense against a foreign foe under the wise statesmanship of David, the kingdom had always remained two distinct, tiny principalities, sharply divided by geographical influences. The territory of Israel in the north, which rebelled against Rehoboam, and elected Jeroboam as king, consisted of ten tribes. It was constantly disturbed by internal warfare. They were too far from their former center at Jerusalem to be held together by the unifying rites of the Temple; they set up shrines of their own, dedicated sometimes to God, sometimes to the idols of their neighbors, while the prophets vainly urged them to worship the one God of Israel and Judah.

Nor did they have a national center like Jerusalem, since Israel was broken up by its mountains. These mountains made it harder for the people of Israel to gather together for national defense; while the land was cut through by highways which left them an easy prey to their war-loving neighbors. In the year 721 B. C. E., the Assyrians captured Samaria, the capital city of the northern Kingdom of Israel. The Israelites who were carried off into captivity were soon swallowed up in strange lands. Today they are remembered only by the tragic title, "The Lost Ten Tribes of Israel."

6. Judah and its Destruction—the Jews Survive. For almost one hundred and fifty years more, the tiny southern Kingdom of Judah remained independent. United and strengthened by its ancestral devotion to the family of David, bound even more closely by its common worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, protected by its mountain barriers, the Kingdom of Judah struggled to maintain its independence until the year 586 B. C. E. But on the Ninth of Ab, a never-to-be-forgotten day of mourning for the Jewish people, the King of Judah and many of the inhabitants of the southern kingdom were carried captives to far-off Babylon.

"How doth the city sit desolate that was full of people!" cried the prophet Jeremiah, gazing upon the ruins of pillaged and burnt Jerusalem. The exiles wept at his words. These words are still recited in our synagogues, when the Ninth of Ab recalls that long, hopeless procession, winding its way down the hard roads that seemed to lead the captives away forever from their country and the House of their God.

At first it seemed that the exiles from Judah would suffer the fate of the Lost Ten Tribes; they were like a drop of

water ready to be lost forever in the vast ocean of Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar ruled as king. Many Jews felt that they had left behind them in Palestine the God who had not been strong enough to protect them against the Babylonian invaders; they were ready to bow down and worship the victorious gods of Babylon. At first it seemed to them that there was nothing left to do but to accept the advice of their sorrowful prophet, Jeremiah: "Build ye houses and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them. . . . Seek the peace of the city whither you have been carried away captives."

But the "saving remnant" could not forget either their homeland or their God. By the rivers of Babylon a little company of the exiles sat and wept as they remembered the land of their birth; they refused to sing the songs of their conquerors; they vowed never to forget Jerusalem. They were comforted by the words of their prophet, whose words have come down to us in the book of Isaiah. They remembered the teachings of their prophets before the exile. Was it possible, they asked themselves, that the God they had served in the Temple on Mount Moriah could still care for His people in strange and distant Babylon? Was the God they had known in Palestine really the Judge of the whole earth? If such a God existed was it possible that He really loved His sorely chastened people and would again restore them to their own land?

There is no miracle in all history, even in the miraculous Story of the Jew, greater than this: a little, helpless, bewildered people preserving its identity in the midst of a strange empire, saving both itself and its gift to the world, the belief in a single and all-powerful God. The prophets had foretold the punishment and the defeat of the proud and rebellious nation, and it had come to pass. Convinced

and chastened by their captivity of nearly fifty years, the exiles in Babylon came to realize that the prophet's God of punishment might also be the God of pardon. When Ezekiel spoke to them of a valley filled with dead bones, which, quickened by the breath of the living God, moved again and lived, they joyfully accepted his parable. Weeping by the waters of Babylon, they dreamed of the return to Zion!

7. The Return From Exile. When Cyrus, the Persian king, conquered Babylon in 539 B. C. E., the long-cherished dream of the Return became a reality. At first, in spite of their ruler's gracious permission to return to their own land, only a few set out on the long and perilous journey to Palestine. Many Jews had grown to think of Babylon as their home; they were successful in business; a few even stood high in the king's service. But as time passed, other pilgrims to Palestine followed these first fearless pioneers. In less than twenty-five years after their arrival we find them resettling the waste places which had once been Jerusalem and rebuilding their shattered Temple. There was bitter opposition from the Samaritans, a group of colonists from the north who had been settled there by the Assyrian king after the downfall of Samaria. Although they worshipped strange gods, these foreigners had adopted a number of Jewish rites; they were now eager to have a share in the rebuilding of the Temple. The newly returned Jews did not wish to associate with neighbors they considered little better than heathen, and refused this friendly offer; naturally the Samaritans resented the insult and did a lot of mischief. Today a dwindling band of less than two hundred souls, the Samaritans still live in their ancient home, Schechem, and nourish their ancient grudge against the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

But the builders, who often worked with a trowel in one hand and a sword in the other, were not easily discouraged. Nehemiah, cup-bearer to the Persian king, Artaxerxes, for twelve years, served as governor of Jerusalem, not only aiding in the restoration of the city and Temple, but co-operating with Ezra the Scribe in the religious reforms so necessary for the rebirth of the little nation. 333266

Ezra was both priest and scribe, a law-maker and codifier of laws, a reformer, zealous for the laws that had been ignored or forgotten during the exile in Babylon. He reorganized the service for the newly restored Temple; he purified the priesthood. Calling about him a group of scholars, later to be known as the men of the Great Synagogue, he expounded to them the laws, civil and religious, which were to govern the newly restored kingdom. Ezra realized that the returned exiles would never be able to live as true Jews again, unless they sent from their homes the heathen wives they had brought from Babylon. It was a harsh ruling, but the desperate situation of that day called for desperate remedies. Zealous for the Torah, it was Ezra and his disciples who began to build a fence about the Law, establishing a thousand details, which would serve as a spiritual boundary to keep the Jewish people together, when the national boundaries of the little kingdom of Judah were swept away.

For the physical boundaries of Judah were never too secure. The little state, lying in the pathway of invading armies which tramped ruthlessly across it, was always a prey to foreign conquerors. About two hundred years after the return from Babylon, Alexander the Great, conqueror of the descendants of Cyrus, appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. At his death two of his generals fell heir to the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria; as Palestine lay between them it was bound to become the scene of constant warfare until

about the year 168 B. C. E., when for a little while the Maccabees and their followers rekindled the torch of national liberty.

When compared to Egypt and Babylon, Judah was a petty kingdom even in the days of Solomon. Now it was only a dependent province. Then why is the little kingdom of Judah still worthy of our study? Today we look in vain for the descendants of the nobles of Babylon and Egypt. No trace remains of the armies which followed Alexander in his journey across a conquered world. But in every land beneath the sun, the children of the inhabitants of tiny, often-subdued Judah play their part in the history which for these other and mighty ones ended so long ago. Why and how did these sons of a tiny nation survive? Whence did they gather strength to meet the storms which were so soon to sweep them from their native land into a second and seemingly never ending exile?

To answer these questions we must turn back the pages of our Story of the Jew to learn how the prophets set the Theme of Jewish History.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why is the Bible period important in Jewish history? How long did it last? Where did the Jews live during this period?
2. What were the important ideas which the Jews originated? Why were they so important?
3. What were the stages of the growth of the Jewish people?
4. Name the kings before the Division of the Kingdom and tell what each of them accomplished.
5. Describe the Babylonian Captivity. What was remarkable about the Jews during and after it.
6. Who was the great leader after the Return? What did he accomplish?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Compare the Hebrew Beginnings in Palestine at the Conquest; the Return after the Babylonian Captivity; the present Return to Palestine since the World War.
2. Make a special study of a favorite hero of Bible days, telling what his life meant to the Jewish people.
3. A map study of the growth and decline of the Hebrew nation; or of the wanderings of the Children of Israel before they ever reached the Promised Land; or of their Captivity.
4. A study of one period of Bible history: how the people lived, how they were governed, their wars, and their religion at the time.
5. Dramatize some interesting story from Bible history yourselves to perform in class or assembly period, such as Elijah before Ahab, David and Jonathan, etc.

(Any of these may be made a class project by having various children take various heroes, different periods, etc.)

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

You can review your old Bible History which you used in religious school. Or use such a book as Alper: *The Bible Retold*, or Reizenstein: *Biblical History*.

Jehudah Steinberg: *Breakfast of the Birds*, has interesting stories on the Biblical period, the first four in the volume and *The Last Farthing*. Elma Ehrlich Levinger: *Playmates in Egypt*, has a series of stories from the various periods of biblical history; her *Tales Old and New* has two, *A Son of Egypt* and *The Lamb of Sacrifice*. There are many English poems about our Bible, such as Byron: *Hebrew Melodies*, and Browning: *Saul*. You will find these in Kohut: *A Hebrew Anthology*.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

Charles Foster Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*—the handiest summary.

Henry Preserved Smith: *Old Testament History*.

Margolis and Marx: *History*, chapters 1 thru 24.

Graetz: *History*, vol. I.

Dubnow: *Outline*, vol. I.

III.

THE PROPHETS SET THE THEME OF JEWISH HISTORY

When we say that the Prophets set the theme of Jewish history, we mean that their teachings expressed the thoughts which continued to guide, inspire and comfort the Jew, long after the Wanderer had been driven from his own land. Although these teachers of the Jewish people lived so very long ago, the words that they uttered in their pleas for social justice and world peace are still repeated by the most advanced thinkers in our own day.

1. The Great Eighth Century Before the Christian Era. The eighth century before the Christian era was one of the richest periods in Jewish history. For it was at this time that some of our greatest prophets, that flaming line reaching from Amos to Isaiah, cried out in the name of their God in the public places of Israel and Judah. But although Israel and Judah were already full grown in their national history, two nations which were some day to rank among the powers of the ancient world were still in their infancy. The year 776 B. C. E. marks the first Olympiad, the beginning of recorded time in Greek history; the date of the legendary founding of Rome by the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, is placed around 753 B. C. E. It is a thrilling thought. These two empires, which were one day to conquer the entire world through their gifts of art and law, were slowly creeping into the sun. But the Hebrew was already adding his choicest treasures to the vast storehouse

destined some day to be the heritage of all mankind.

For the one peculiar gift of the Jew is religion. His belief in one God, his Ten Commandments, his Psalms and, finally, the teachings of his prophets constitute his legacy. The Bible is truly a prophetic book; its ideals have greatly influenced the New Testament of the Christian, the Koran of the Mohammedan. These ideals the prophets placed before the Jew; he not only made them his own, but in time he came to believe that he had been "chosen" by God Himself to carry this theme, this message, to every corner of the globe.

Just what did the prophets write, in large and commanding letters, not only for the Jew but for the whole world to read? What did they inscribe on the early pages of the Story of the Jew? What was the faith that made it possible for this peculiar people to survive the thousand obstacles of its peculiar history, the faith that outlived exiles and ghettos and death itself?

2. The Beginnings of Prophecy. It is very likely that the earliest prophets went no further than to insist that God is One. They were set apart from the common people; often they brooded in the wilderness like Elijah. These men of God sometimes dressed in rude skins; their matted hair fell about their faces. They frightened the simple farmers who looked to them for signs and wonders and the unsealing of the secret future. These farmers asked the prophets to explain the signs of flying birds, to pray for rain for their parched crops. There is the touching story of the widow who begged Elijah to heal her stricken child in illness.

But these early prophets were more than miracle workers. They saw with horror the Children of Israel follow the nature gods of the Semites, worshipping them with shock-

ing rites in the sacred groves. To Elijah, the Lord of the Hebrews was a mightier God than Baal. His disciples waged untiring war against the priests of Baal of the Canaanites, until finally the high places of heathen worship were destroyed among the people of Israel; they accepted for all time the God of the nation Whose Temple was at Jerusalem.

But Elijah did more than denounce the gods and the practices of the heathen. He defied King Ahab, cursing him for the seizure of a poor subject's vineyard. The man from the wilderness not only pleaded for the worship of the true God, but commanded that He should be served with justice and fair dealing. From this time onward the prophets taught that to serve God one must respect the rights of his fellow man.

3. The Prophets Write Down Their Teachings. Elijah, like the earlier prophets, and so many other great teachers of religion, did not express his ideas in writing; his teachings were entirely oral. But Amos, who resembled him in his simple life and harsh speech, set down his message in writing. A rude, powerfully-built man from the country, Amos appeared suddenly in the market place at Beth El, the central sanctuary of religious worship in the northern kingdom of Israel. Here he fiercely denounced the wrongdoing of king and nobleman and priest. Although like many another prophet, Amos protested against empty and meaningless religious forms, he was not opposed to organized religion itself. But like prophets the world over he insisted that man should serve God not only through sacrifice and prayer, but by justice and mercy to his neighbor.

Nor were the prophets enemies of their country, although they often criticized its government. Isaiah, for example, was strongly opposed to Judah's alliance with the war-

loving Egyptians. He knew that no good could come to a kingdom from wars to gain more land; he dreamed of a day when the nations would not "learn war any more." Isaiah realized that the territory Judah held by armed force could not be retained; but he believed that the spirit of the "saving remnant" of the people would continue to live through the ages.

Like Isaiah, Jeremiah, the mourning prophet, knew that Judah must meet defeat upon the battlefield and be conquered by its more powerful neighbors; like Isaiah, this fearless soul dared even in the time of destruction to declare that those who carried the truth of their God in their hearts must survive. With the Babylonians storming the gates of Jerusalem, Jeremiah purchased land in Palestine as a sign that the unfortunate Judeans would some day return to their birthplace. The same hopeful courage is shown by Ezekiel. An exile in far-off Babylon, Ezekiel prophesied to the mourning Jews that they would return to Palestine, and the bones of a dead people would be revived through the living breath of their God.

Ezekiel was so sure of the Return, that years before Cyrus ended the Babylonian exile, he actually worked out a code of laws to be enforced when the nation should return to its own soil. The homesick Jews, who began to share his hopes, found great comfort in the words of the later portions of the book of Isaiah. Here they saw the Jewish people pictured as the Suffering Servant, who through his very trials learns the wisdom that is to bring final healing to all the nations of the earth. For by this time the national god of the Hebrews had slowly changed into the God whose loving kindness could follow His children into Babylon; they knew Him at last not as the protecting God of one nation but the God of the whole world.



4. **The Prophets Against the World.** Of course, the prophets did not reach these high ideals without long and painful struggles. On every side they faced the hatred of those who opposed their startling and often revolutionary messages. Jeremiah, perhaps, is the typical prophet of all times both in his fearlessness and his martyrdom. He opposed war, and the soldiers hated him and threatened him with death. He denounced the dishonesty of the priesthood and the priests plotted against him. He protested against the schemes of the King and his counsellors, which he prophesied would bring a speedy doom to Judah, and he was cast into a dungeon as a traitor. But as soon as Jeremiah regained his liberty he went forth to protest and to prophesy as before. When King Jehoiakim mockingly cut to pieces the scroll bearing the prophet's message and fed the pieces to the flames, Jeremiah immediately dictated to one of his disciples a second scroll. For, like the true prophet, Jeremiah knew that in the end Truth must surely conquer.

Let us unroll the scroll of all the prophets of Israel and Judah—and there were many whom we have not space to name—and read again their teachings which have since become the very core of Jewish life and thought. There is the one God Whom Elijah praised on Mount Carmel though the worshippers of Baal howled about him; the God Amos declared a God of Justice, a Justice which Hosea later softened into Love. There is the God, described in the book of Isaiah, whose message will be carried to all the sons of men by the remnant saved from the destroyed Jewish nation. While in the words of Micah we have the highest of all prophetic teachings: "It hath been told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee? Only to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

This ideal of the prophets was made practical in the Code,

which Ezra, upon the restoration of Judah, presented to the returned exiles. In this Code, this manual for a good life, Ezra, the first of the Scribes, carried forward the work of the last of the prophets, Ezekiel. Ezra's formulation and additions to Ezekiel's laws worked out in Babylon, became a link between the work of the prophets of the past and the scribes (later the rabbis) of the future. The prophets passed, but their message was carried on down the ages.

5. What Is the Bible? This message of the prophets, together with many other writings of those early centuries in Palestine, were preserved faithfully by later generations, and make up our Jewish Bible, which Christians call the Old Testament. In the Bible are brought together in one collection many books, written at many different periods and for the many different needs of the life of the people of Israel.

There are early ballads of frontier warfare and the desert, stories of the beginnings of the people, much (though not all) of the history of the nation as it grew. There are also in the Bible many laws, whole codes which were worked out at different times from the Ten Commandments down to the laws of Ezekiel. There are the Psalms, some of which were sung in the Temple service; the Proverbs, with their wise rules for everyday living; the great religious drama of Job; the lovely poetry of the Song of Songs. And, above all, there are the writings of the prophets themselves, which inspired so much of the law, the history and the life of the Jews of ancient days.

All these different books are united, not only by the Hebrew language and their Jewish origin, but even more so by their central idea. For they are almost all religious books, expressing the religion of the same people; and

even those few which have little religion in them were at a later day explained in a religious way. The spirit of the prophets filled the compilers of the Bible, and as we read it today it is the world's great book of religion, in its prayer, its history, its law, and its moral teachings, as well as in its vision of God and its hope for man.

Along with the books of the Bible we find a number of writings known as the Apocrypha (secret, or hidden). Most of them were written in Greek, which may be one of the reasons why the rabbis considered these books inferior to the Hebrew works, and did not include them in the Bible. Some are continuations of the Bible stories, such as the additions to the Book of Esther; others are important historical works like First and Second Maccabees, in which we read of the struggle against Antiochus; there are also books of visions and of wise sayings, the most important being "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Ben Sira."

6. The Real Victory of the Prophets. The prophets voiced their world-reaching message in a little land. They spoke to a small people, few in number when compared to the great nations of antiquity, weak in warfare, who were to leave little trace upon world movements in art or literature or science. During its painful history of three thousand years, this little people was conquered again and again from without, becoming conquerors themselves only during brief snatches, as in the reigns of David, Jeroboam II. and John Hyrcanus. But it was to this very little and oft-conquered people that the prophets spoke, filling the souls of the Children of Israel with a strength and a vision which they were never wholly to lose sight of again.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Compare the antiquity of the Jews with that of the Greeks and Romans; the modern nations.
2. What were the prophets? Describe two different kinds of prophets.
3. Tell the main work of four different prophets.
4. Who opposed the prophets? Why? Who were right, the prophets or their opponents? What this victory proved?
5. What is the Bible? Who wrote it, and why?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Study one book of the Bible and give a brief report on its contents, purpose, and interest to the reader. This can become a class project by dividing up the various books among the members of the class, appointing a chairman, and covering the entire Bible in a rapid survey.
2. Study the life and character of one of the prophets.
3. Find out what similar religious teachers existed among other peoples, especially in the lands near Palestine.
4. Trace the growth of ideas in the series of the prophetic teachings; this is suggested in the foregoing chapter, and has been more fully developed in many other books.
5. Read the book of one of the prophets, such as Isaiah, as a work of literature. Prophecy is a form of literature, including oratory, poetry, stories, even dramatic action, but not exactly like any one of them.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

- I. Landman. Stories of the Prophets.
M. H. Harris: The People of the Book, vol. III.
The Holy Scriptures, published by Jewish Publication Society of America.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

- C. G. Montefiore: Bible for Home Reading, an excellent work, in which the biblical passages are followed by explanation which is both Jewish and modern.
Chas. F. Kent: Kings and Prophets of Israel and Judah, which covers the historic background together with the prophets themselves.

IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL

1. Judea as a Province of World Empires. In an earlier chapter we traced the Story of the Jew through the division of the Kingdom of Solomon into two weak and warring principalities, two little oriental states, troubled by rebellions within and attacks from the mightier powers beyond their borders. The northern Kingdom, Israel, was the first to fall. Its scattered inhabitants became the Lost Ten Tribes and were never heard from again. But the Kingdom of Judah survived the Babylonian captivity, from which a remnant returned to rebuild the Temple and organize a Jewish state under the protection of the Persian empire. Later we saw the power over Judea passing from the hands of the Persians to the Greeks under Alexander. At his death in 323 B. C. E. the little Jewish state became a vassal of Egypt until in 198 B. C. E. the fortunes of war made Palestine a part of the Syrian empire.

An ancient empire was made up of any number of petty kingdoms and principalities, which paid tribute to their overlord and owed him loyalty. Often these little states were allowed to set up a local government of their own. As their conquerors usually recognized the many gods of their subjects, there was seldom any interference from the ruling powers with the local religious worship. The inhabitants of a tributary state were generally allowed to continue in

the worship of their own gods. These heathen vassals were never rebellious when commanded to add the gods of their victorious enemy to their own deities, or to pay divine honors to their new ruler. A few additional gods meant nothing to a nation which already worshipped many gods; it was also commonly understood that a king must be regarded as a semi-divine being.

But the Jews worshipped only one God and could not place the statues of the Greek gods (whom the Syrians worshipped) in their Temple. They were willing to pay taxes to the king's officials, but they could not burn incense before his image, for to the Jew such tribute would have meant idolatry. While to the heathen the Jew's refusal to pay religious tribute to their earthly ruler suggested treason to the empire.

As long as the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine were allowed freedom of worship, they remained at least outwardly obedient to their Syrian overlords. They resented outside interference in such local matters as the selection of their high priest; but since they were not forced at first to take part in the worship of the Syrian gods or to pay divine honors to King Antiochus, the Jews were submissive enough.

Nor must we forget that in the days of Antiochus there were many Jews who were more than willing to accept the ways of the Greeks, their games in the circus, their social life and their literature. We shall see later how many of the Jews did what imitators have done all over the world from that day to this. They did not accept the best of Greek philosophy, such as the teachings of the Stoics, who placed virtue above all else; but they adopted the life of ease and softness, often of immorality, practised by the Syrian Greeks, who were not of pure Greek stock, but composed

of the nations conquered by Alexander. Naturally, the majority of the Jewish people protested against the immoral social life introduced among them by the Syrians. But many other Jews, always eager for the new and fashionable, were more than willing to adopt the Greek dress, study Greek literature rather than Hebrew, and take part in the Greek games and the forbidden Greek banquets.

But even some of these Hellenized, or Greek, Jews did not want to be forced to follow the religious practises of their rulers. It was one thing, they said, to scatter a little foolish incense before the statue of a heathen god at the heathen games. But when the mad Antiochus ordered them to eat forbidden swine's flesh or to desecrate their own Sabbath, even the most indifferent Jews were ready to rebel. Many a Hellenized dandy discovered that a loyal Jewish heart beat beneath his fashionable Greek tunic. Many a young priest, who had been willing to cut short his prayers in the Temple that he might take part in the games at the circus, became violently Jewish, when Antiochus ordered the death of Jewish parents discovered practising the forbidden rite of circumcision.

Little by little a group of Jews, "zealous for the Law" and bitterly opposed to the ways of the Greeks, grew in strength and numbers. At first, scattered martyrs offered up their lives for their faith. Then the open flame of rebellion burst forth in the tiny village of Modin and not even the large and magnificently trained armies of King Antiochus could stamp out the ever-spreading fire.

2. The Maccabean Struggle. Today we reverence the town of Modin not only as the birthplace of Jewish liberty but of universal religious freedom. This village lay among the lower hills of Judea, northwest of Jerusalem; Appolonius, general of the Syrian king, had already sacked the

weak, little village; his soldiers held the gates. The priest of Modin was an aged man, Mattathias the Hasmonean, father of five sturdy sons.

When the Syrian envoy came to Modin, its inhabitants badly terrorized by the news of the cruelties practised by Appolonius in Jerusalem, were ready to yield to his demand to burn incense and offer sacrifices of forbidden animals upon the pagan altar set up in the market place. One Jew had already stepped forward to obey the royal command. Mattathias, forgetting his own danger in his devotion to the Law, killed him where he stood and slew the envoy also. Not only his sons, but the villagers, inspired by the courage of their leader, rallied about Mattathias. Mad with holy enthusiasm and led by their priest, the sons of Mattathias and many of their neighbors fled with him to the mountains for refuge. Appolonius, who had already turned the Temple into a shrine for the Greek gods, was assured by certain cowardly Jews of Jerusalem that he had nothing to fear from a handful of unarmed rebels. It was some time before the general and his royal master realized that a war had really begun.

From their mountain fastness, the sons of Mattathias, who died shortly after the beginning of the struggle, waged the first religious war known in all history. Jews had fought before, often and bravely, for their own territory; but this conflict was more than national. Now in the year 166 B. C. E. the five sons of Mattathias were willing to offer up their lives for the sake of their religion. They began a desperate military struggle for a principle then undreamed of in the heathen world—a man's right to worship according to his own conscience.

Of the five Hasmonean brothers, Judas Maccabeus ("the Hammer Bearer") came forward as a hero not only of Jew-

ish but of world history. The Jewish genius had never been military; but now it was the good fortune of the struggling little nation to produce one of the greatest generals of all times. Judas had more than the arts of leadership, which made the Jews flock to his standard although he had so little to promise them. He was also a born strategist, equally brilliant in defeating the enemy in the narrow passes of his familiar native mountains at Beth Horon, or winning against fearful odds in such encounters as the pitched battle of Emmaus. His wearied and poorly armed soldiers, rallying to the watchword of the Maccabean banner ("Who among the gods is like our God?") actually drove from the field the new Syrian forces sent by Antiochus, now thoroughly aroused. Exactly three years after the desecration of the Temple under that tyrant, the victorious troops of Judas Maccabeus reconquered Jerusalem and rededicated their sadly defiled House of God.

The heathen altars on which swine had been sacrificed and the statues of the heathen gods were destroyed. Priests brought new and clean vessels for service on the new altar where lamps filled with sacred oil blazed from the great golden candelabrum. This Feast of Dedication (celebrated even to our own day as Chanukah) lasted through eight days, observed with solemn songs of thanksgiving, dances by maidens carrying the palms of victory, and with the kindling of lights.

But through all the rejoicing ran a note of sorrow for the world's first martyrs to religious liberty. Not only the soldiers upon the battlefield, but countless heroes like the aged scribe, Eleazar, weak noncombatants like Hannah and her seven sons had suffered death that the faith of Israel might live. The stories of their martyrdom, appearing in the two Apocryphal books, Maccabees I and II (written in

Greek, not Hebrew) became a source of strength not only to the sorely oppressed Jews of their own time, but to the heroes and martyrs of the hard days which were to follow.

3. The Coming of Rome. The independence for which the Jews under Judas Maccabeus had fought so bravely and so well lasted scarcely a hundred years. Under the skillful direction of John Hyrcanus I., a direct descendant of the Maccabees, the frontiers of Judea were enlarged. Hyrcanus destroyed the temple of the kingdom's old enemies, the Samaritans, on the north; he defeated the Edomites and converted them to Judaism, a victory which was later to prove most deadly to the Jewish people. One of his sons extended the boundaries of the kingdom still further. But even during the years of peace from foreign warfare, political strife began to grow in Judea through the rise of the Pharisees and Sadducees, at first purely religious bodies that gradually became more and more divided along political lines. During the reign of the grandson of John Hyrcanus, civil war broke out, and the two contending heirs to the throne appealed for assistance to Pompey, the great Roman general. In 62 B. C. E. Pompey entered Jerusalem and from that moment the shadow of the all-devouring Roman eagle hovered across Judea, not to be lifted for many bloody years.

Pompey had been called to Jerusalem as a friendly advisor; but Rome, as many of the smaller nations had already learned, was equally dangerous either as friend or foe. Nations which had not been conquered by the swords of Rome's iron legions were just as readily subdued by her shrewd statesmen. In a quarrel between two little warring states it was the habit of Rome to take sides with the weaker; after the common enemy had been defeated, it was a simple matter for Rome to swallow up her former ally

as well.

Although Pompey entered the Temple, penetrating into the Holy of Holies, that place sacred to the High Priest alone, he neither despoiled the Temple treasures nor interfered with the Temple service. But countless Jews who resisted the Romans were slain; representatives of many of the noblest Jewish families were carried off to Rome as hostages; Samaria and certain Greek cities were annexed to the Roman province of Syria, and Judea herself was declared tributary to the Romans.

The Jews, who had enjoyed their brief taste of independence, were not at all ready to obey their new Roman masters. Hyrcanus II., high priest and last of the Hasmonean house to rule in the land, was unable to control the ever-warring parties among the people. Hyrcanus was soon put out of the way; the Romans appointed in his stead Herod the Edomite, a willing tool in their hands against the liberties of his adopted country.

4. Herod the Tyrant. Herod, although now hailed as King of the Jews, was no more Jewish in his heart than the other Edomites converted by force to Judaism. Even Jews who were friendly to Rome hated their ruler for the cruelties of his private life. He murdered his beautiful wife and her young brother, the last descendants of the Maccabees; many felt that with the ending of the Hasmonean family the national glories of Judea were forever dead. At Herod's order, many members of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish supreme court, were slain; the royal butcher did not spare even his closest friends and his own sons.

The tyrant became the favorite of Pompey's successor, Mark Anthony; after Anthony's death he was protected by Augustus Caesar, now emperor of Rome. Herod was a slavish imitator of these conquerors; like them he prepared

huge spectacles and circuses; he built magnificent palaces and baths; he planted beautiful gardens. He even laid out cities, named in their honor. Finally Herod rebuilt the Temple in Jerusalem, sadly desecrated through recent wars; according to a legend, he wished thereby to rekindle the light he had quenched by the slaughter of these sages of the Sanhedrin, the wise men who had been "the light of Israel."

But in spite of the magnificence of the restored Temple, and the years of peace, which he brought to Judea for the greater part of his long reign of thirty-four years, there never was a more hated ruler than Herod the Great. His life of vice and blood, his introduction of pagan customs, his slaughter of his fellow Jews who dared to oppose Roman rule, have all left the name of Herod one of the most hateful memories in the whole of Jewish history. It is said that when Herod lay dying he gave orders that at his death the most respected men of the community should be slain; he hoped that the mourning of their relatives and fellow citizens might be mistaken for grief over his own death. But the order was not executed; on the day that Herod died his intended victims were released and the city of Jerusalem, which the tyrant had both beautified and cursed, was filled with rejoicing instead of lamentation.

After the death of Herod, the Roman masters sent governors to Jerusalem whose one desire was to squeeze the highest amount of tribute from the Jews, already overburdened with taxes. Complaints against such tyranny were called treason against the emperor in Rome; the slightest suspicion meant imprisonment or death. Bitterest of all to bear—these pagan Roman governors wounded the religious feelings of the conquered Judeans. Many who had been obedient to Roman rule under Herod's reign, preferring

oppression to continual warfare, now joined the Zealots. Each patriot carried a hidden dagger. These they vowed to bear until they had freed their country from foreign foes. Their constant rebellion brought harsher repression; every day the dark shadow of the Roman empire crept nearer and nearer toward weakened and helpless little Judea.

5. The Great Rebellion. In the year 66 C. E. the Zealots felt themselves strong enough to face Rome. One of their generals was Josephus, a member of a priestly family of Jerusalem. Josephus was much influenced by glimpses of the power and glory of the Roman empire he had caught on a visit to the mighty city on the banks of the Tiber. He tried to convince the Zealots that no army in the world might hope for any length of time to hold its own against the Roman legions. But the Zealots strengthened their hearts with the memory of Judas Maccabeus, who in days gone by had defeated the strong forces of the Syrian Antiochus with a tiny army of untrained men. Josephus reluctantly consented to become governor of the province of Galilee; he at once raised an army of 100,000 fierce young Zealots, burning to fight for their country, and began to fortify the boundary towns, which lay in the path of the invading Romans.

Whether Josephus had entered the service of his country with traitorous feelings in his heart no one will ever know. Although he may have doubted the success of the rebellion from the first, it is more than probable that he would have remained true to his trust, had not many and bitter quarrels arisen among his sorely divided people. Josephus was accused of a lack of patriotism at the very moment when he felt that he was acting heroically in what he believed to be a lost cause; we can understand why he was not slow in surrendering to the Roman forces.

Josephus in his great work, "The Wars of the Jews," written years afterwards in the security of the Roman court, tries to defend his own conduct. The Jews fought with desperate courage, Josephus testifies, but one by one their defenses crumpled before the Roman engines of war. In the siege of Jotapata alone, which lasted forty days, 40,000 Jews lost their lives. Josephus and a few of his surviving soldiers, when hemmed in by the enemy, decided to slay themselves rather than fall alive into the hands of the revengeful Romans.

But Josephus broke his oath to his dead companions; instead of committing suicide he found his way to the Roman camp where he was kindly received and taken under the protection of Vespasian, the Roman general. Vespasian and his son, Titus, who later were emperors of Rome, became the patrons of Josephus; after the destruction of his country he lived contentedly enough in Rome under their protection. Naturally his Jewish histories were written with an eye to please his powerful friends; but flatterer to the national enemy though he was, Josephus could not help drawing a spirited picture of a people heroic even in their downfall.

For although Josephus was quick to find the easiest way out for himself when destruction swept over the doomed nation, there were thousands of his countrymen who preferred death to dishonor and fought unfalteringly until the end. One after another the outlying towns and fortresses fell before the assaults of the Romans. Now Titus, who had taken charge of the army upon the departure of his father Vespasian to Rome for his coronation as Emperor, stood before the walls of Jerusalem. For miles beyond the city trees had been cut down to be made into battering rams, and all human habitations and fertile fields reduced to

ruins. Only madmen would have dared to dream of resistance; but the Jews, starving and dying of pestilence within the city, refused to surrender.

One by one the walls of Jerusalem fell, dripping with the blood of their frenzied defenders. Famine and pestilence had already slain more than the Roman swords. On the ninth day of Ab, 70 C. E., the last wall of Jerusalem fell and the city was captured. On the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonian soldiers, the restored Temple, enlarged and beautified by Herod, flamed beneath the Roman torches. Countless priests and citizens had taken refuge in the inner courts; they perished among the flames or were slaughtered by the Roman invaders. Only the blackened ruins of the Western wall remained, a heap of stones forever to be hallowed by the tears and prayers of homeless Jews who vowed never to forget Jerusalem. The day of this second destruction was marked in the Jewish calendar as a day of fasting and lamentation, so that even in our own time the Fast of Ab is observed in memory of the frightful desolation carried to Jerusalem by Titus and his legions.

But there still burned in the soul of the unconquered Jew something which all the armies of the world could never crush into nothingness. The Temple had been destroyed; Jerusalem lay in ruins; the survivors of the siege, far more pitiable than those whose bodies lay in the shambles, were dragged away in chains to grace the triumphal procession of Titus in Rome. Here "the delight of mankind," as the countrymen of Titus loved to call him, showed himself a true Roman conqueror. The fairest and sturdiest of the Jewish youths who had survived the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem perished in mimic warfare with gladiators,



ARCH OF TITUS

or beneath the claws of wild beasts in the Roman circus; the older and younger captives were sold as slaves.

Many of the Jewish captives of the first exile had been left behind in Babylon; another community of which we will read in the next chapter, had sprung up in Egypt; now with Rome as a center, the great dispersion of the wandering people had begun. The Arch of Titus, which pictures the triumphal procession of the conqueror, shows Jewish captives carrying the seven-branched candle stick from the ruined Temple at Jerusalem. Without a Temple, without a land, how could the Jews have hoped to survive?

Yet the conquered little people dared to dream of survival. "On the day the Temple was destroyed the Messiah (who will save Israel) was born" became a saying among the Jews, an heroic expression of a hope that could not die. This spirit flamed anew from the ashes of conquered Jerusalem in the year 135 C. E. Once more the broken remnant of the Jewish people rallied under the leadership of the fearless Bar Kochba; once more Rabbi Akiba and his fellow rabbis dared to hope for the freedom of their people and their Law. In the end Rabbi Akiba and many other Jewish teachers suffered a martyr's death; some of them were burned to death wrapped in scrolls of the Torah they had given their lives to preserve. A legend tells us that once the unscorched letters of the Holy Scroll, which had been burned together with one of the sages, were seen ascending to heaven in token of the truth that, although the bodies of the teachers were destroyed, the Torah itself was immortal.

6. The Final Outburst. This was the spirit which kept the Jew from utter destruction after his last struggle against Rome. Bar Kochba lay among the slaughtered

dead upon the last battlefield of the Jew; Jewish captives again filled the slave markets; the Romans, in mockery, ploughed up the ground on which the Temple had once stood. Judea had become "Syria Palestina" and Jerusalem "Aelia Capitolina," a name suggesting that at last the Roman eagle held the long struggling land in its iron talons. As a final act of cruelty, guards were placed about the Temple area that none of the handful of survivors, dwelling in the ruins which had once been Jerusalem, might return to weep over the stones of their beloved Temple. Only once a year might they pray at the ruined walls on the ninth of Ab, the anniversary of their dispersion, when, with gold paid to their Roman masters, they were able to "buy their tears."

The Romans, masters of the world, wondered at a stubborn people, weeping over a ruined hope that would never be rebuilt. But the Jews, even while they wept, knew that they must surely survive.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. In what way was an ancient empire different from a modern nation? What relation did the Jews have to the various great empires of this period?
2. Who were the Hellenists?
3. Describe the revolt of the Maccabees. The character of Judas. The origin of Chanukah.
4. How did Rome conquer the Jews?
5. The place of Herod in Jewish history.
6. How was the Jewish nation finally destroyed?
7. How did the Jews live on after their nation was destroyed?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The military campaigns of Judas the Maccabee; compare them with David's in the same country; with George Washington's in America.
2. The Apocrypha, a general account or a review of a special book, such as Judith, or Maccabees I.

3. How Rome conquered the world; show what a small part the Jewish people played in the Roman Empire.
4. The beginnings of the Diaspora (Dispersion) before the Destruction; report on the Jews in Egypt, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Rome.
5. Resolved, that the Jews should not have resisted Rome in the year 70. The affirmative can point to the successful revolt of the Maccabees, the negative to the growth of Roman power. Both sides can find proof from Josephus.
6. The life of Flavius Josephus. Whether his career was of greater harm or benefit to the Jews.

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V.

HOW THE JEWS SURVIVED

1. What Would the Jews Do? In our last chapter we saw the final destruction of the Jews as a political nation. Today no descendants of the soldiers of Titus live to glory in the Arch which bears his name; but the sons of the despised and scattered Jewish captives survive. At what straws did these humbled slaves grasp? What paths did these bewildered exiles follow in the days when they seemed ready to be swept forever from off the face of the earth?

To cowardly and easily discouraged souls desertion always seems the easiest means of escape. Hellenism, the teaching of the Greek sages, appeared as the easiest path for many Jews to follow. But this did not mean survival; for, as we shall see later on, the teachings worked out by the Hellenized Jews never became a lasting part of Jewish life and thought. Other Jews were ready to desert to the new sect of the Christians. For in this creed they found a combination of their own religion and certain Hellenistic features which would make it more acceptable to the gentile world. But in time these Jewish Christians were completely swallowed up in the larger group converted from their heathen neighbors, and became part of the early Christian church.

There was a third way of survival, which at the time seemed the most difficult, but in the end proved the only means by which the Jewish people could preserve their

identity. This way was later called Talmudism; instead of trying to merge the Jewish people with any other group, it called for a stricter separation from their neighbors. Tradition or Talmudism, "built a fence about the Law" instead of abandoning the laws which made the Jews different from their enemies; it called for a more rigorous study of the Torah that these laws might be better understood. Talmudism did more than regulate the lives of the Jewish people; it gave them life itself.

The Jews had never been a united people for any long period; they quarreled among themselves even when the Roman battering rams pounded against the walls of Jerusalem; it was only natural that at the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. there were many cleavages among the Jewish survivors of the siege. Many Jews deserted openly, like Josephus; others tried to combine the teachings of the Hellenistic philosophy and their own faith; still others clung more desperately than ever to a Judaism which was to survive the destruction of the Temple and the Jewish nation.

Even before Jerusalem fell we have seen how the Roman oppressions from without caused the Jews to look within themselves for a solution of their many troubles. Many sects and political parties arose, each group believing that it had found the only means of survival. But this became a dying hope as the shadow of the all powerful Roman eagle darkened the land. Since they believed that only a miracle could save the weak little land of Palestine at a time when stronger nations, one after another, were being defeated by Rome, the hope grew stronger and stronger that God Himself would send a Messiah to champion the cause of Israel.

2. **The Sadducees, the Friends of Rome.** Of course, there were certain Jews who were friendly to the Roman oppres-

sors and found it advantageous to further the Roman cause. This group was composed largely of the Sadducees, who are said to have taken their name from Zadok, the High Priest of the first Temple; others claimed that their title meant the "righteous," an observer of the Law in all its purity. Many of the Sadducees were priests, who found it to their advantage to have friends among the Romans, now so powerful in Temple affairs. A majority of this group were aristocrats, lovers of Hellenistic culture and the social life of their masters. Under such conditions it would have been a most unselfish Sadducee who risked his position by an attack upon Rome. The Sadducees also insisted upon observing the Torah in its literal meaning. For example, they declared that the law of Moses, "an eye for an eye," meant that an offender who injured the eye of another should be blinded in one eye. The Pharisees, on the other hand, declared that the law meant that there should be a payment of money for the injury; and many other laws were similarly construed.

3. The Pharisees, the Party of Progress. Unfortunately the Pharisees are known to most modern people as the writers of the New Testament pictured them; in its pages they are all represented as narrow-minded and intolerant legalists. It is true that they were legalists; it is thought that their name refers to their custom of separating the laws of the Torah and interpreting them in their simplest meanings. But it does not follow that they cared only for hair-splitting arguments. They were the real liberals of their day; they did their best both to obey the Torah and to work out a Judaism which should be liveable under Roman rule. For example, it was the Pharisees who declared that God might be worshipped not only in the Temple, but in the synagogues or meeting places that had be-

come a part of Jewish life after the exile in Babylon. The Pharisees were drawn almost entirely from the common people. They could not pride themselves upon their priestly or noble families nor upon their riches; but they were proud of their learning. They scorned only one man, the am-haaretz, the Jew uneducated in Torah.

Of course, there were some Pharisees who were too quick to despise the unlearned; others were too ready to pray upon street corners, where everybody might notice their piety. But these hypocrites do not fairly represent the true Pharisees, who did so much to preserve Judaism for our own times. A far more typical Pharisee is the modest and saintly Hillel of the time of Herod the Great, famed equally for his learning and his humility.

The early hardships of Hillel were so severe that his poverty passed into a proverb. Whenever a man declared himself too poor to devote his time to the study of Torah he was asked: "Are you poorer than Hillel?" His charity and tolerance also became proverbial, one of his most noted sayings being, "Separate not yourself from the community." A most characteristic story of Hillel tells of the gentile skeptic, who mockingly challenged the great teacher to tell him the entire teachings of Judaism in the short time he was able to stand on one foot. Hillel, always patient under insult, answered him quietly: "Do not unto others what thou wouldst not have done to thyself. That is the whole Torah. All else is commentary." The mocking Roman also believed, as so many still believe today, that Judaism was nothing but a collection of laws; the gentle sage taught that the heart of Judaism is love of one's neighbor. It was this wise tolerance even toward an impudent unbeliever, which made him one of the best loved figures in Jewish history.

Hillel served for some years as head of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish court of his day. It was a democratic body, whose members were chosen not for their wealth and family but for their knowledge of the law. It consisted of seventy members with a presiding officer, and at one time was very powerful not only in making but in executing the laws of the land. But little by little it was robbed of its power by Herod and the Roman governors who followed him. In the time of the destruction it had become practically only a religious court, and had lost its ancient privilege of trying cases in which the death penalty might be imposed.

4. Essenes Who Dreamed and Zealots Who Fought. We have just considered briefly the larger group of the Pharisees, represented by Hillel. But there were two other groups, each equally eager to save Judaism, each equally typical of those days of seeking and doubting and revolt. The Essenes were like the Pharisees in their belief that it was unwise to struggle against the growing power of Rome. They observed most scrupulously all the laws of Judaism. Their many rules for bodily cleanliness earned for them their name of Essenes (bathers) or later, Baptists; they carried about with them little shovels to cover any refuse they might find, just as the Jews were commanded to do while living in the Wilderness.

As they wanted to keep themselves clean from the sins and the desires of the world, they lived by themselves in communities where food and clothing belonged not to one man but the whole group. They did not care to use money in buying or selling, as they feared a man's interest in wealth might keep him from pondering on what they considered the only matter of importance—the world to come. They not only despised the things of this world, but be-

lieved that the Last Day was at hand. Although lovers of Israel, they felt it was too late to consider political matters, as even the oppressions of the Romans would soon pass away.

But the Zealots, who like the rest of the Pharisees represented the common people, and hated all that the Rome-loving Sadducees stood for, believed in the present. While the Pharisees hoped that God in His own good time would send a Messiah to free Israel, and the Essenes dreamed of a kingdom ruled by no earthly king, the Zealots continually plotted against their oppressors. We have already seen how the Zealots in their zeal for the freedom of their country rallied in defense of Palestine in the terrible struggle against the legions of Vespasian and Titus. For many years before the Temple fell, the strongest and bravest and most idealistic of the younger Jews had perished beneath the Roman swords, or had twisted their tortured bodies on Roman crosses along the highways from Jerusalem, executed as rebel criminals by their unforgiving masters.

All these struggles among the Jews themselves show us that Jesus, believed by many to be the long-awaited Messiah, was born in a time of doubt and of visions. From without came the oppression of the Roman overlords, slowly wringing from Israel the life-blood of a dying people. Within, the national spirit varied from indifference to desperate resistance. There was the group of cringing Sadducees, anxious to save their own skins by their submission to Rome. Rome could also count on the loyalty of those hateful Jews, the publicans, who served as tax-gatherers and extorted outrageous taxes for their never-satisfied lords. But the remainder of Jewry was composed of loyalists: the calmly expectant Pharisees; the Essenes, busy with thoughts of a better world; the Zealots ready to face

death on the battlefield or on the cross for their country. It was for these faithful ones a time of visions, ecstasies and marvels. An earthquake foretold the coming of the end of the world; any peasant rebel might be the Messiah!

5. **Jesus, Teacher and Mystic.** During such troubled and expectant days Jesus (Joshua) of Nazareth was born. He was the son of Joseph the carpenter in Galilee, a poor man but claiming descent from the royal David. This young mystic gave little promise of greatness during his first thirty years. The history of his life related in the Four Gospels, written years after his death by men who probably had never known him, is a record strangely similar to the stories of many other Jewish saints of the time. In the beginning he seems a simple wandering preacher, traveling through the countryside, speaking to his people of God's love for man and man's duty to his neighbor. Many a saying from these discourses, including even the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount, echoes the teachings of the Bible or of Hillel and his disciples.

Around Jesus, just as around the rabbis who followed him, there slowly grew up a wealth of legends: he healed the lame, he gave sight to the blind. Like the Pharisees, he bade his followers "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's," meaning that in everyday affairs the Jews should submit themselves to their earthly rulers. Like the Essenes he taught the beauty of poverty, the folly of acquiring riches and worldly power. Jesus shared with both of these groups their longing to achieve a kingdom "that was not of this world." When he permitted his followers to hail him as the Messiah (the Anointed, that is, the kingly one) it seems most likely that he accepted their homage in its spiritual and figurative sense. There had been many leaders sent to troubled and unhappy Israel; perhaps he might

be the one chosen to lead them into peace. With his teachings of non-resistance to evil, it is most improbable that Jesus ever thought of himself as a militant conqueror.

But the Romans did not make fine distinctions! To them a half-mad dreamer, who preached the early coming of the Kingdom of God upon earth, or a desperate Zealot, seeking to have himself acknowledged King of the Jews, were equally dangerous. Rome had learned one simple and ever effective manner of destroying rebellions among her subject peoples. How much the un-Jewish and priestly party had to do with bringing Jesus before the bar of Roman justice is uncertain. It is easy to believe that the Sadducees hated him for his attacks upon their worldliness and corruption. But no other party in all Judea could have failed to admire the idealistic rebel from Galilee, when he expressed only the hopes and the ideals for which they themselves had suffered so patiently and so long.

Even if they had wished to condemn him, the Sanhedrin no longer had the power of life and death; the trial of Jesus, as recorded in the New Testament was not a Jewish trial as it was not carried out according to Jewish law. His was a Roman judgment and a Roman punishment, since crucifixion, a death prescribed for rebels against Rome, was never practised by the Jews. The unselfish life and beautiful teachings of Jesus have left their impression upon history. But his death caused scarcely a ripple of excitement in times when rebellions against Rome were frequent and the death of Jewish patriots an every day occurrence. To Pilate, the governor of Judea, Jesus of Nazareth was merely another of those Jewish outlaws above whose dying head the Roman soldiers marked in mockery: "King of the Jews." To his disciples who loved him for his gentle and pure life, Jesus was only another victim of Rome.

It cannot be repeated too often after all these centuries of hate and misunderstanding that Jesus was a Jew. He was born a Jew and educated as any Jewish boy of his day was educated; later he taught the message of the Jewish prophets; he probably lived as a Jew, and when he died as a Jew on the Romans' cross, he died the death of a Jewish martyr. Although at times he differed from the traditions of the fathers, as many a Jewish leader has done from those days to our own, it is doubtful whether Jesus himself ever even dreamed of establishing a new religion.

6. Paul Founds the Christian Church. Had it not been for Paul (Greek for Saul), a learned Pharisee, who never knew Jesus but became attracted to his teachings, Christianity would never have been considered as a means of survival. After Jesus' death his disciples clustered about James, his brother, who was very likely an Essene, and that energetic disciple, Simon Peter. They were mostly Jews by birth, followers of the Torah, their faith rekindled by the beautiful personality of their dead leader. This little group might never have grown any larger than any of the other bands who mourned a lost Messiah, had it not been for the brilliant leadership of Paul, the founder of the Christian church.

Paul saw that the gentile world, weary of its many gods, was ready for a new world religion. But the gentiles, with their contempt for the Jewish barbarians, would never accept along with the Jewish teachings of Jesus the many detailed laws of the Torah. For this reason Paul preached a new religion which was to embrace the world. He declared that Jesus was the Christ (the Greek word for Messiah), who had been sent not for the redemption of Israel alone but for all mankind. The old Jewish ideal of the Messiah of David's lineage who was to rule over an earthly kingdom

was displaced, in the new teachings of Paul, by the figure of a Saviour, who would by his atoning blood, shed upon the cross, save his followers from their sins. Jesus was no longer a humble carpenter-preacher; he became, according to Paul's conception, the Son of God, a divine Man, who by his resurrection assured everlasting salvation, after death, to all true believers.

Such belief was not difficult to present to the pagan world; but the Jews on the whole refused to accept Paul's departure from Judaism. Paul continued to preach the doctrine of the risen Christ; little by little the weak, tiny sect of Jewish Christians, as they were called at first, received converts from the pagan world. Christianity, a combination of Jewish ethics taught by Jesus and Greek philosophy adapted by Paul, grew stronger and stronger. But except for a small minority the Jews refused to be absorbed into the daughter religion.

7. The Ambition to Be Like the Greeks. Another means of survival was Hellenism. As early as the period of the Maccabees, many of the Jews had adopted the Greek manner of living and had become interested in Greek philosophy. During the period of Roman misrule in Palestine, it seemed for a time that the only portion of Israel that could remain alive was the group that had emigrated to Alexandria. These Egyptian Jews, under the leadership of Philo, one of the renowned philosophers of his day, tried to work out a philosophy which was to contain the finest teachings of the Jewish and Greek teachers. But neo-Platonism (a later version of Plato's teachings), like Christianity, did not attract a sufficient number of Jews to carry on the spark of Jewish life and Jewish learning through the ages.

The Jews were obliged to look further for another means

of survival. They found it in Talmudism, the wisdom and the piety of those rabbis whose work we shall study in our next chapter.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What were the three possibilities for the Jews in this critical time of their history?
2. Name the leading parties of Jews at that time; describe them briefly.
3. Name one great leader of the Pharisees; tell what he stood for.
4. Who was Jesus? What did he do? (Not his friends or followers, but he himself.)
5. Who began the Christian religion? How did he do this, and why?
6. Who was the greatest of the thinkers who inclined toward Hellenism? Where did he live, and at what time?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Resolved, that the Jews should have followed the Hellenistic teaching, and become citizens of the world. (The Hellenists tried to do in their day what many modern Jews are actually doing, to unite Jewish loyalty and world contacts. Was this desirable or possible at that day? Is it today?)
2. Study the life of some prominent Jewish teacher of that day—Hillel, Gamaliel, Philo, or any other, together with his teaching and his influence on Jewish history.
3. Did the Jews kill Jesus? Why does the Christian church believe that they did?
4. The life, character, teachings of Jesus, especially how closely he resembled the other Jewish teachers of his time.
5. The Jewish longing for a Messiah; the different kinds of Messiah they longed for at different times.
6. The beginnings of the Christian Church; the Jewish Christians, and the work of Paul.
7. Why did Christianity become a world religion instead of Judaism?
8. Describe a day in Jerusalem (Meyers, I, chap. 7 thru 13).
9. Dramatize an incident in the life of Hillel, such as that with the heathen.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

Meyers. I, chaps. 12, 15, 16.

Harris: Thousand Years of Jewish History, chap. 26.

Lew Wallace: Ben Hur.

Weis: Great Men in Israel, the first four stories, especially for Hillel.

Two excellent poems to be read in connection with this chapter are:

Frank: The Jew to Jesus (Anthology—Raskin).

Zangwill: Moses and Jesus (Anthology—Friedlander).

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

Margolis and Marx: Chap. 25, 33-5.

Graetz: II, chap. 6, 14, 15, 16.

Herford: The Pharisees.

Dubnow: History, chap. 6, a fine summary of the problem.

Bentwich: Philo Judaeus.

Radin: The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans.

On Jesus, there are three Jewish works of importance for teachers, parts of which can be given to older pupils as well.

Klausner: Jesus of Nazareth, is the greatest scholarly study of the man and the age from the Jewish viewpoint.

H. G. Enelow: A Jewish View of Jesus.

Joseph Jacobs: Jesus: As Others Saw Him—these two are simpler, and both very worth while.

Fleg: Jewish Anthology, Chap. 1-4 covers this period with most interesting material. Many of these extracts from the original sources may be read by the pupils or presented in class.

VI.

HOW THE TALMUD GREW

1. The Talmud, which kept the Jewish people alive, grew out of the teachings of the Pharisees. Even before the destruction of the Temple, the Pharisees had taught that the study of the Torah was as necessary as sacrifice. The Roman wars ended forever the elaborate ceremonies in the Temple; but any group of Jews might still gather together in their poor, tiny schools to study the Law of their fathers. The Pharisees had always tried to make Judaism a democratic religion; they had taught that a Jew from among the common people, if he knew the Torah, was superior to an ignorant priest.

The priestly caste, the Cohanim, had perished for all times amid the flames of the burning Temple in 70 C. E. There were no longer priests in Israel to lead the people in their religious life; but their places were now filled by the rabbis. The word rabbi means master, or teacher. The rabbis did not have to descend from a priestly family; it was only necessary that they should know the Torah. It was these rabbis who became the religious leaders of the Jewish people.

The Pharisees, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, had carried on the ideas of Ezra the Scribe and his disciples of the Great Synagogue; they believed it was necessary "to build a fence about the Law." Later on, when the homeless people lived as scattered little islands in the

midst of the strange seas to which they had been tossed, it was this "fence" of law and learning that kept them distinct and separate from the nations that threatened to devour them. It was this study of the Torah, to which, in time, the oral Law was added, that brought about one of the greatest miracles in all history—the preservation of the Jewish people.

The story of the beginning of the Talmudic period tells most beautifully how another golden link was added to the never-broken chain of Jewish faith and loyalty. Even before Jerusalem fell, runs the tale, Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai realized that the city was lost, and determined to save the nation through the Torah. Unable to escape the watchful Zealots, who would allow no one to leave the city to surrender, this wise teacher ordered his disciples to place him in a coffin and carry him out beyond the guards at the walls to the camp of the Roman general, Vespasian. Bowing before the proud Roman, Rabbi Jochanan hailed him with the salutation reserved for only emperors and kings. Even as he spoke a cloud of dust appeared on the horizon; there came the sound of a horse's hoofs in the distance. A few moments later a messenger from Rome, covered with sweat and dust, dashed into the camp. He flung himself from his horse and knelt at Vespasian's feet, crying: "Hail, Caesar!" The soldiers of the camp took up the cry as the messenger repeated the announcement of Vespasian's election as emperor by the senate at Rome.

Struck by the rabbi's miraculous prophecy, the new ruler promised him any boon but one—he would not spare Jerusalem. No doubt he was amused at the Jewish teacher's humble petition: would Vespasian graciously spare the obscure village of Jabneh and permit the rabbi and his followers to establish a school there? Vespasian could not

see any danger to Rome in granting such a modest request. A handful of Jewish scholars, he decided, would not plan any rebellion that his legions could not crush in a single day's slaughter. But in that humble school in Jabneh, Jochanan ben Zakkai rekindled the spark which the soldiers of Titus believed they had stamped out forever among the blood-soaked ashes of the Temple.

With the exception of the short-lived revolt against Hadrian, there were no more battlefields in the story of the Jew. The Maccabean warrior doing battle for his fatherland had given place to the scholar ready to give up life itself for the Book of his fathers.

2. What is the Talmud? What did these scholars write and teach? What was this Talmud, which became for the Jew his law book, his text book for the teaching of the young, his book of history and science, and for his lighter hours, a book of romance and legend?

Let us look at a page of the Talmud together. Even if we know Hebrew we will be puzzled by many of the words; for much of the Talmud was written, not in the Hebrew that has come down to us in the Bible, but in Aramaic, the language of the common people. Many Greek and Latin words appear in the law phrases or in the description of the garments or the homes or the foods of the foreign dwellers in Palestine. But what most puzzles the stranger to the Talmud is its form.

If today you read a law book or a book of science or history you generally find that the text covers two-thirds of the page, while the footnotes of explanation and references appear either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the chapter. But in the days when the Talmud was written there were no printed books, only scrolls of parchment written by hand. It was found more practical to

write the text in the middle of the page, surrounding it with notes and explanations written all over the margin. The Jew's reverence for the Talmud has been so strong, that even in our day of printed books we still find what has been called the island of text surrounded by the sea of explanation or commentary.

Now just what is this text and what is this commentary? What matter lies in these huge volumes, or rather, this extensive library, for we must not think of the Talmud as a single book. Instead we must regard it, like the Bible, as consisting of a collection of very different books. It is really a Jewish Encyclopedia overflowing with information on every subject that touches upon Jewish life and thought. All of its strangely mixed contents is held together by one great subject—Jewish Law. And the very heart and essence of all this Jewish Law is the moral teachings of the Jewish prophets.

Such a book could not be finished in a single age; it took over five hundred years to compile the Talmud. It could not be the work of one school of rabbis; over a thousand teachers living in Palestine, Egypt, Babylon and Rome contributed from their wisdom and their personality to this mirror of the Jewish mind and the Jewish heart. For this reason we need not be surprised to find many contradictions in the Talmud, just as we find them in the Bible. With so many different times and places and authors, we must expect much diversity. In our day we have been taught to think of a law book as a collection of legal judgments and nothing more. But to the Jews, whose highest duty was to devote every spare hour to the study of the Law, the Torah was more than a collection of the laws which were to govern their life; it was life itself.

The Constitution of our United States covers only a few pages; many a school child has learned it by heart. But hundreds and hundreds of volumes have been written to explain the Constitution for the citizens of our country. When a modern lawyer is puzzled by a point in law, he does not go to the Constitution, which became the law of the land in 1787; he consults the decision of the Supreme Court on a similar case, or goes over the records of like trials. In the same way the Torah, "the law given by Moses," has always been the constitution of the Jew. The Talmud, with its many divisions, is really a collection of decisions on the Torah, showing how the rabbis and sages explained certain disputed laws with added parables and stories. These stories not only made their lectures more interesting, but helped to explain the more difficult problems.

3. The Mishna and Gemara. At first these laws which make up the Talmud were not written down. Although the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. no longer had a land and a government of their own, they were allowed in practically every community in which they lived to regulate their own legal affairs. If a dispute concerning the ownership of certain property arose between two Jews, they appeared before a Jewish court for judgment. These judgments were largely based on the decisions on similar cases, which had been settled before. These decisions, along with the explanations and commentaries of the rabbis, formed a great mass of oral laws known as the Mishna.

Hillel began this work and it was carried on by such noteworthy rabbis as Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai, Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Meir for about two hundred years. Rabbi Judah the Prince finally set down these oral laws in writing. The name, Mishna, comes from a Hebrew verb

meaning to "repeat." The men whose sayings compose the Mishna were known as Tannaim, teachers; they wrote in Hebrew and their writings were generally clear and to the point.

But the Gemara, which was written after the Mishna was completed, and is a commentary upon it, is written in Aramaic, the language of the people. The rabbis who wrote these commentaries on the Mishna were called Amoraim, that is, expounders, because they explained and enlarged upon the teachings of the Mishna. Their writings are less clear and concise than the text of the earlier Tannaim. The arguments of the Amoraim many times seem confusing; it is as though they often purposely follow a winding, twisted path instead of trying to come directly to the point they wish to make.

We see this very clearly when we examine a page of the Talmud. First in the little island of text in the middle of the page comes a passage from the Mishna; it is followed by its commentary from the Gemara. The sea of commentaries and the cross references appear in the margin. The most important are those of Rashi, written in France in the eleventh century.

4. The Contents of the Talmud. These two great works, the Mishna and the Gemara together form the Talmud, which means learning or study. Now the Talmud contains more than the civil, criminal and religious law which the Jews were to make their principle study for hundreds and hundreds of years. It includes everything else that came up for discussion in the schools, such as ethics, science and history. These discussions are called Haggadah, which means preaching; although it played such a large part in Jewish life and thought the Haggadah was not considered to be of equal authority with the Halachah, or laws.

Let us take the Halachah first. It is divided into six parts, each of the main divisions being named from the subject of the laws it contains. We therefore have Seeds, treating of the agricultural laws, and also the blessings and prayers; Festivals, laws for the holy days and the Sabbath; Women, laws of marriage and divorce; Damages, laws of property; Sacred Things, rules for sacrifices and the Temple services, even though there were no longer sacrifices and a Temple; Purification, laws for cleansing after ritual defilement. We must never forget that these rules were the laws of the entire Jewish community, whether a large group such as in Alexandria, or a small body in Rome. Along with the laws came writings on moral subjects and collections of wise sayings, such as the "Sayings of the Fathers."

Next, let us examine some typical Haggadah. We find them of many types and used for different purposes. Sometimes a witty saying was added to lend spice to an otherwise dry lesson; often a rabbi taught his pupils by means of parables and stories, which brought out more clearly the law he was trying to expound to them. Hillel, for example, when hurrying home "to entertain a guest," explained to his disciples that the soul was the guest which stays in the body but a little while and should be refreshed with solitude and meditation. The story of the Prodigal Son, one of the many parables Jesus told his listeners, is another example. While in the parable of the Faithful Bride we have the type of Talmudic tale that kept hope alive in the heart of the persecuted Jew through the long years of his exile.

"In days of old," the story goes, "a youth and maiden were betrothed. But shortly before the day set for their marriage, the youth was forced to go on a long journey. Days, weeks, months and years passed; but he did not re-

turn. The bride's neighbors mocked her because of her deserted state, but to all she gave the same answer: 'He will return.' Then, weeping, she would steal away to read and reread the letters he had written to her during their courtship. At last, after many years of separation, the youth returned. When he asked his Beloved what had kept her faith in him alive during their long separation, she replied: 'Your letters which told me of your love!'

"Israel," went on the parable, "is the Bride, seemingly deserted by her Bridegroom. But although her neighbors jeer at her for her misery, she need not despair. Instead let Israel read the 'letters' of her Beloved, the Torah in which He has promised His eternal love, and be comforted."

Along with the Talmud we have such collections of writings as the Midrash, volumes of sermons based on various texts of the Bible, which are interpreted in the usual rabbinic manner of story telling and parable. Many of the fairy tales of kings and demons and beautiful maidens under enchantment, stories which have delighted Jewish children through the centuries, were drawn from the Midrash, where they were first told to point a moral or to explain a difficult Biblical passage.

5. The Importance of the Talmud in Jewish History. In our age it is hard for us to realize the importance of the Talmud. In the days when it was being compiled, and for generations afterwards, this authority on the Jewish religion and Law took the place of a Jewish homeland and a Jewish government. Wherever a group of Jews lived, no matter how few, the schools where the Torah and its commentaries were taught and studied became the center of community life. We have seen the first of these schools founded at Jabneh by the loyal and far-seeing

Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai even before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C. E. Some of the leading Jewish scholars who had survived the fall of Jerusalem followed him; in time they formed another Sanhedrin, a Jewish court with legal and religious authority. When the Pillar of the Sanctuary, as the great teacher was called, passed away, the pupils to whom he had taught the Torah went out into the world to establish other schools.

Wherever a great teacher arose, disciples flocked to hear him; during his life time his native town became the center of Jewish learning. Sometimes when Roman persecution made the study of the Torah too dangerous both master and pupils would try to escape to some secret spot where they could continue their studies in safety. The center of the Jewish religion was no longer at Jerusalem. The Temple had been replaced by humble school rooms, where in place of the priest serving before the altar, we find the rabbi teaching the law of Israel to his disciples.

These rabbis considered it a sin to use their learning either as a crown for self-glorification or as a means of earning a living. They did not charge for their instruction, but each tried to earn his bread in his own way. We find the great rabbis engaged in the humblest occupations, such as carpentry and tentmaking; others were shoemakers and charcoal burners.

6. Some of the Teachers of the Talmud. Among these teachers, beginning with Hillel and Jochanan ben Zakkai, we find some of the greatest minds and the noblest characters in Jewish history. We have already seen Akiba as the rabbi-patriot, blessing the rebellion of Bar Kochba against the Romans. He was one of the most original minds among those scholars who built up the Talmud; in the end he gave his life in the defense of his country and

Law. At a time when the teaching of the Jewish law was considered a crime worthy of death—so runs the Talmudic legend—he carried on the work of his class room, until he was seized by the Romans and burned at the stake.

But his work lived on through the devoted efforts of his most promising pupil, Rabbi Meir, who became one of the best loved of the Tannaim. Rabbi Meir not only continued the work of his master in arranging and classifying the still changing laws of the Mishna, which were later to become fixed and final; but he also did his best to make his pupils see every phase of the question under discussion by taking first one side, then the other of the argument. Even more than the other parable-loving rabbis, he taught through wise sayings and clever fables. He is said to be the author of three hundred fables dealing with the fox alone and has justly been called the Jewish Aesop.

Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai who lived about the same time was not at all like the popular, merry Rabbi Meir. A legend relates that during the Roman persecutions he lay hidden in a cave for thirteen years. During this time he is said to have composed that mysterious book, the Zohar, which we will see studied so earnestly by later mystics. The story tells that when Rabbi Simeon saw how a bird escaped the net set for it by a fowler, he took it as a sign that it was safe for him to return to the world. Many of the precepts which he taught his disciples have come down to us. The best known is his description of the Jewish crowns: "There are three crowns; the first is that of scholarship, the second that of the priesthood, the third that of royalty; but the crown of a good name excels them all."

Perhaps the greatest of all these teachers and compilers of the Mishna was Rabbi Judah ha Nasi, called the Prince,

not only because he was descended from the royal house of David, but because even the Romans considered him the leader of the Jews in Palestine. The time of his birth is given as the day on which Rabbi Akiba suffered martyrdom. Thus the rabbis carried on with unbroken links the golden chain of the Torah. Judah ha Nasi hoped that although Aramaic was then generally spoken in Palestine, the Hebrew language might be preserved. Often his pupils were ashamed when they heard the serving maids in the rabbi's house speaking perfect Hebrew.

Although very wealthy and favored, according to certain legends, with the friendship of the Emperor Antoninus himself, this princely rabbi was not tempted to forsake either the study or the teaching of the Law. He labored for half a century until he completed his greatest service to his people, the arranging and systematizing of the many Jewish laws, the decisions of the rabbis of the schools of Jochanan ben Zakkai, Akiba and Meir. At this time the Mishna was "closed"; in the year 200 the work of the Tannaim, its teaching, was finished.

7. The Schools in Babylonia. We have already learned of the commentary upon the Mishna, the Gemara. Its teachers, the Amoraim, were on the whole less original and striking than the rabbis whose life and work we have just followed. But what interests us most today is that many of the scholars and teachers whose work we find in the Gemara lived not in Palestine but in Babylonia.

In one of our earliest chapters we saw that although many Jews returned from Babylon to Palestine in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, a goodly company remained behind in the country of exile, which they already considered a home. Although surrounded by a strange people, the Jews

preserved both their religion and their language. They established schools in which the descendants of the homesick Jews, who had wept by the waters of Babylon, studied the Law of their fathers. Of course, until the destruction of the Temple, Jerusalem was still considered the center not only of Jewish worship but of Jewish learning. Doubtlessly Hillel was one of many young Babylonian scholars who left home to study in the academies of Jerusalem.

Now in the days of Judah ha Nasi the schools of Babylonia began to compete with the schools of Palestine. One of his disciples, Abba Areka, called Rab, returned to his native Babylonia and established a school at Sura. He accomplished a great deal in arranging the form of worship for the synagogues, which had taken the place of the Temple worship; some of the prayers which he composed, or at least rewrote, have come down to us in the religious services we use today.

Mar Samuel was a fellow-student of Rab in the school of Judah ha Nasi. He was not only a teacher of the Jewish laws, but also a physician and astronomer. He boasted that he knew the paths of the heavens as well as the streets of his home town. This knowledge of astronomy helped him to establish a fixed calendar for the Jewish festivals, since the Jewish calendar is based on the movements of the heavenly bodies. Along with Rab he did much to make the schools of Babylonia grow into serious rivals of the academies of Palestine.

Even as Jewish life and learning declined in Palestine, the Jewish community of Babylonia grew in strength and reputation. The Palestinian Jews never knew when another Roman persecution would endanger their schools; in Babylonia the Jews were comparatively free from re-

ligious persecution. They were allowed to study and teach in their schools, which were under the direction of a Jewish religious leader, the Patriarch. Their civil affairs were directed by one of their number, called the Prince of the Exile, who was recognized by the Babylonian authorities. So the Amoraim of troubled Palestine and of peaceful Babylon worked on the Gemara, which was to complete the Mishna.

About the year 500 C. E. the work of editing the Babylonian Talmud was finished. There was also the Jerusalem Talmud, which, of course, was composed not in Jerusalem but in Palestine; this was closed about two hundred years earlier. The Babylonian Talmud was always considered the greater authority by the Jewish scholars; today the Jerusalem Talmud is used only for reference.

The final blow to the schools of Palestine fell when Constantine, the Roman Emperor, accepted Christianity. He made the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, the official religion of the Roman empire and all its provinces. The Jews of Palestine realized that they could no longer study and teach the law of their fathers in their ancient homeland. They journeyed, as the captives of the Babylonian conquerors had journeyed centuries before, down the long road that led to Babylon. But now they did not move in bowed procession as humbled slaves. They marched as conquerors, for they knew that Rabbi Jochanan and the men who had followed in his footsteps had labored wisely and to good purpose. No matter how far the Jews might wander from their birthplace, no matter how widely the Jewish people might be scattered, they would never lack the golden chain to bind them to their homeland and to their God. In one hand the Wandering Jew carried his traveler's staff; in the other his Torah.

In a well-known parable, Rabbi Akiba had prophesied what was to be. When a fellow-Jew, fearful of opposing the Roman masters, advised him to give up the teaching of the Law in order to save his life, Akiba replied:

“Listen to my story. A fox walked on the banks of a river and saw the fish gathered fearfully together near the bottom of the water. ‘Why are you so frightened?’ asked the fox. The fish replied: ‘We fear the men who are casting nets to catch us.’ ‘Come with me upon the land,’ advised the wily fox, ‘and I will watch over you as my father watched over your fathers in days of old.’ But the fish answered him: ‘No, indeed! The water is our home; even if we are in danger here, we would be in much greater danger if we left it.’”

“This is the moral of my fable,” ended Rabbi Akiba, “The study of our Torah is the home of the Jew; here we are like the fish in water. We may be in danger of the Romans even when we obey God’s Law. But how much greater would our sufferings be if we forsook it!”

It was this determination to find comfort and safety in his Torah, his Book of Books, that in the end was to save the Wanderer through his long journey. No wonder that the Jews were called the People of the Book by Mohammed, the founder of the new religion, which will be described in our next chapter.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why were the Jewish schools important? Where were they? What was studied in them?
2. What is the Talmud? How did it come to be? Where and when was it written? Why is it important?
3. Name the two parts of the Talmud; what is their relation to each other?

4. What are the contents of the Talmud?
5. Name four rabbis of the Talmud; tell something about each.
6. Tell some interesting story from the Talmud.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Report on the Midrash; it is barely mentioned in this chapter, but it will be very interesting to learn more about it.
2. Read the wonderful tales about some hero, as told in Talmud and Midrash; report on the difference between the portrait there and in the Bible. For instance, the Solomon stories in Ginsburg: *Legends of the Jews*.
3. The schools in Palestine and the Academies in Babylonia—how the students lived in them, what they studied, how the studies were conducted; the difference between the Palestinian and the Babylonian schools.
4. The development of the Jewish law.
5. The commentaries on the Talmud—who wrote them, where, what went into them, their usefulness.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

- Bildersee: *Post Biblical Jewish History*, chap. 1-5.
 Harris: *Thousand Years of Jewish History*, chap. 24-34.
 Meyers: I, chap. 18-34, very detailed and full of interesting material, especially for the topics for reports.
 Weis: *Great Men in Israel*, pages 21-48.
 J. Reizenstein: *Rabbinic Wisdom*.

You will find many interesting Talmudic legends in print, such as:

- A. S. Isaacs: *Stories from the Rabbis*.
 Joseph Gaer: *The Magic Flight*.
 Gerald Friedlander: *The Jewish Fairy Book*.
 Judah Steinberg: *Breakfast of the Birds (The Holy Dust)*.
 Sulamith Ish-Kishor: *The Heaven on the Sea (The Death of Moses; The Field of Brotherly Love)*.
 Elma Ehrlich Levinger: *In Many Lands (The Dove and the Eagle). Jewish Holyday Stories (The Bow That Would Not Bend)*.

A number of poems on the Talmud and the rabbis will be found in "Poems for Young Judeans" under the heading "Songs of Legend, History and Tradition."

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

E. Deutsch: The Talmud, a handy little essay giving much material.

Margolis and Marx: Chap. 34-37.

Dubnow: History, chap. 7.

Dubnow: Outline, chap. 7-10, vol. II.

Graetz: Vol. II, chap. 17-22.

Halper: Chap. 2-5.

Talmud Taanith has been published in Hebrew and English in the Jewish Classics Series, edited by Davidson; this is a splendid work for anyone who wishes to come into personal contact with the Talmudic sources for even one short tractate.

Ginsburg: Legends of the Jews, 5 vol., for the source material of Midrash and Haggadah.

Mielziner: Introduction to the Talmud.

Sayings of the Fathers, Pirke Aboth, are in many English translations and will provide not only background but also report material for advanced pupils.

Jewish Encyclopedia has especially fine articles on Talmud, Mishnah, Midrash, and the various persons of prominence.

VII.

A JEWISH CENTER IN BABYLON

1. Five Centuries of Religious Thought. As we follow the Story of the Jew today we do not find the five hundred years between the completion of the Talmud and the Golden Age in Spain a time of thrilling importance. The ages before and after it were two of the greatest in all our wonderful Story, the growth of Talmudic Judaism before, and the outburst of learning and life afterward in Spain. We may feel as though the long period between 500 and 1000, when the Jewish center of learning remained in Babylonia, was of no particular value.

But to the people who lived in Babylonia in those days it seemed a very interesting period indeed. They had their great Academies where their scholars continued to study and write; they watched the rise of one of the world's great religions, Mohammedanism; they saw an inner revolt in Jewish life (Karaism) and witnessed its defeat. They had their great men, too, of whom a number would have been great in any age; one, Saadia ben Joseph, is one of the outstanding personalities of our entire Story.

We have seen our people living under the two great pagan empires, in the west Rome, in the east Parthia, the deadly enemy of Rome. We have seen how the Jews faced the alternate oppression and tolerance sometimes because of their special nationality, and sometimes because of their different religion. But from now on we shall see

our people living under two great religions, both of them offshoots of Judaism. Christianity in the west takes the place of Rome; Mohammedanism in the east takes on far more importance than Parthia has ever had before. In both the east and the west, religion becomes and continues to be for a thousand years the most important thing in the world. Under these changed conditions, the Jew, the living ancestor of both, will meet constant contempt from Mohammedanism and Christianity and often real persecution.

Wherever they lived, in every land, the Jews were strangers. For every nation had its own religion, which was one of the most important features of its national life and which the Jews did not accept. Everywhere the Jews had their little communities, where they lived under their own laws, but subject always to the outside power and control of the Christian Church or the Moslem people about them. Everywhere the written word, the Torah and Talmud, took the place of the nation, Temple and land, providing the law, the religion and the community life of the scattered Jewish people.

We have seen how Christianity arose directly out of Jewish life, begun by Jews out of the Jewish hope for a Messiah. It grew until before the time we have now reached, it was the official religion of the great Roman Empire, of all the settled nations of southern Europe and also of some of the barbarian tribes which were then coming into the west of Europe. And so Europe and the Occident had a religion which was partly Jewish and took the place of the old nature worship of Greek and Roman, Druid and Teuton. But another amazing chapter in this remarkable Story was now to be written.

Another religion arose, using many Jewish ideas and Jewish hopes, which became the faith, the culture and the

life of the Orient. For Mohammedanism also is a worship of one God, as is Judaism. Thus the history of the Middle Ages was a history of conflict between two partly Jewish religions, and the neglect and unhappiness of the Jews themselves, the little people almost crushed between the two great world empires.

2. Judaism Produces Another World Religion. Mohammed himself was a camel driver of the Arabian desert, not a Jew but an Arab. He knew many Jews, for there were Jewish tribes living in the deserts in those days; living and fighting just like the Arabs about them. He knew their ideas; he also learned something of Christianity. In time he came to believe that the old nature religion of the Arabs was wrong, that there was but one God to be worshipped in justice and truth, as the old prophets had taught. Mohammed began to feel, indeed, that he himself was another prophet, the greatest of them all.

We cannot trace here the rise of this new religion, how the prophet won friends and followers, fought battles, and wrote the Koran, which was to be the Bible of the new faith. His followers after his death went on in the conquest of the eastern world and the development of the religion he had founded. In 622 Mohammed was driven out of his native Mecca and the Hegira, the Mohammedan era of counting time, began. Less than a hundred years later the Moslems ruled supreme in western Asia, northern Africa, and distant Spain.

3. The Moslems Tolerate the Jews. How did these conquering Moslems, with their rigid faith in one God and in prophecy, treat the Jews, from whom Mohammed had received these ideas? Mohammed himself had changed from the friendly attitude of his early days when he thought

he could convert the Jews to his teaching, to a very bitter hatred of the Jews. But he did distinguish between the heathens, the nature worshippers, and the Book Religions, which had a Bible. The Book Religions, of course, were Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism (or Islam, as it became known). The Jews particularly were the People of the Book—for this strange new prophet had very clear and often very true ideas. So the Jews were tolerated in Moslem lands. They were forced to pay tribute; they were distinguished from their masters in dress and customs. But they were allowed to live in their own little communities with their own laws and their own religion.

These Arabs, Persians and other Moslem races had a high culture and a great learning of their own, from translating the writings of the old Greeks and from their own study of medicine, astronomy, and other sciences. During this period the Moslems were far more cultured and far more tolerant than the crude western fighters and less learned thinkers of Christianity. We shall learn in this chapter and the two to follow, that during the centuries the leading communities of Jews lived in Moslem lands, Judaism flourished in these countries far more than in Christian Europe. For this reason, Babylonia, the seat of the great academies where the Talmud was written, continued to be the center of Jewish life through these five long centuries.

4. The Academies in Babylonia. The Academies still stood; that at Sura was usually the most important, though those at Pumbeditha and Nehardea were heard from constantly. The head of the academy was known as the Gaon (the illustrious) and the Gaon of Sura was *the* Gaon, the head of the religious life of all Jewry. People wrote him letters from every part of the world, asking him ritual and

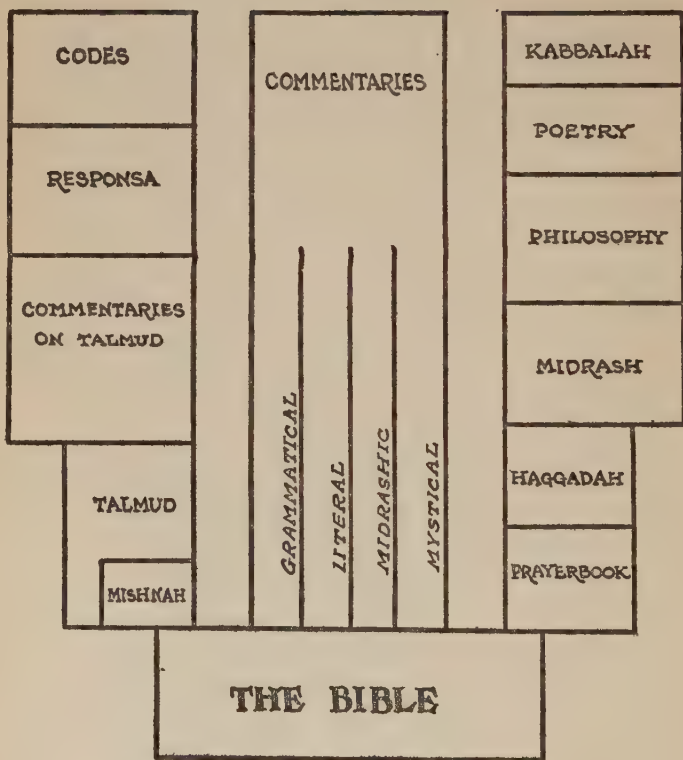
legal questions. And these Questions and Answers were often saved and published.

In addition, the Talmud was studied and explained during these centuries with great industry and cleverness. People did not add to the Talmud any more. But they began to write commentaries upon it, applying its teaching, exactly as the early Pharisees had begun to explain and apply the teachings of the Bible. At the same time, the Exilarch, or Prince of the Captivity, was the political ruler of the Jewish community in Babylonia and responsible to the Moslem overlords; very often he was also a rival of the Gaon for the leadership of the Jews. But so important were the Gaonim and their schools that many writers call this whole period the Age of the Gaonim.

5. Rebellion Against the Talmud. But at this very time arose a movement against Talmudism, against the Academies, their study of the Talmud and their detailed difficult commentaries upon it. This movement of protest was called Karaism because it meant a return to the Kara (reading) or word of the Torah as it was read. The Karaites thought that the Torah contained all that was necessary for Jews to know and to do. They denied the authority of the Talmud; they would throw away the centuries of labor over the oral law through which the Talmud had grown.

This rebellion of the Karaites against the Talmud was begun in the eight century, by Anan ben David, a learned Jew from Babylonia, who was a defeated contestant for the position of Exilarch. He was a hard-headed thinker who objected to the whole method of the Talmudic teachers. "If all truth is contained in the Bible," he said, "then let us turn to the Bible and read it for ourselves." The Karaites turned to the Bible; but, of course, the Bible did

HOW ALL JEWISH LEARNING COMES FROM THE BIBLE



not always fit into new and strange conditions in a world that had grown so different since its last chapters were written. The Karaites had to work out new methods of applying Biblical laws; these had to be different from those of the Rabbanites, or followers of the rabbis.

Today Karaism is only a curiosity, like the rather similar party of the Sadducees, which had preceded it by a thousand years. A few Karaites still live in Cairo, Constantinople and the Crimea. But they are an unimportant sect, for, unlike the followers of the rabbis, they did not keep on studying and growing. The early Karaites also found it impossible to undermine the vast respect already won among the Jews by the Talmud and its interpreters, the Gaonim. While just at the moment when Karaism was strongest, and seemed a really powerful threat against Rabbanism, the greatest of all these Gaonim appeared. Saadiah Gaon in himself summed up the earlier learning, began new courses of study, and established the authority of the Talmud against the rebels.

6. Saadiah the Gaon; his Attempt to Create a Reasonable Religion. Saadiah ben Joseph was a young Jew from Egypt, who in the early part of the tenth century came to Babylonia to study and to teach. His character must have matched his learning; original thought was his most important gift. He excelled in teaching; he seemed to find no difficulty in answering the arguments of the Karaites. Within a few years this young foreigner was elevated to the highest position in the Jewish world; he was Gaon of Sura. From that time on he was a busy, active person, controlling and reforming his academy; contending with the Exilarch; driven out of his position as Gaon by that powerful politician; then returning to it years later as vic-

tor. His was a busy life to the end, and he died at the age of fifty with much of the work he had planned still incomplete.

Sometimes many wonder how a man like Saadiah, with all the work he had to do, found time for so much study and writing, particularly in the days before the typewriters or printing, when all writing had to be done by hand.

For Saadiah wrote equally well in Hebrew, the learned language of the Jews, and in Arabic, the language of the world, which was read by all cultured Jews as well as by the Moslems about them. He was the first Hebrew grammarian of the Middle Ages, which meant that he studied the Bible scientifically, with fewer legends and guesswork than most of the rabbis who based their lives and teaching on the sacred Book. He was the first to write commentaries on the Bible, basing his explanations on the exact meaning of the sentence and not on the moral to be drawn from it or the opinions he would like to prove. He was in every field of Jewish law, religion and practise a world-acknowledged authority.

Saadiah began the line of Jewish philosophers, which led up to Maimonides and which was one of the glories of the three centuries to come. He attempted to explain the Jewish religion in a reasonable, modern way, in a book entitled "Beliefs and Opinions," written in Arabic. The title of the book gives the purpose of what he and the philosophers who followed him were trying to do. They tried to make the beliefs of their religion agree with the opinions or ideas of science, which the Arabs had derived from the ancient Greeks. They tried to live in a reasonable world; they wanted to know about the world, to have the best possible scientific knowledge of their day. At the same time, they did not want to substitute it for their own religion, for the Torah and the Talmud, in which they be-

lieved so profoundly and on which they based their daily living and their daily prayers. It was the old temptation of Hellenism over again in a new form and in a new age; it is the same problem that many Jews have nowadays in understanding and in making peace between science and religion.

Saadia adopted a solution in which he accepted everything in the Torah, but sometimes gave a new or a different explanation. At the same time, he accepted as much of the science of the Greeks as he could, without directly contradicting the Torah. He did not reject the learning of Plato and Aristotle, as did the strictly orthodox, without even reading it; nor did he ever turn away for a moment from the faith of Judaism. In his book of philosophy he tried to show how the Jews of his day could have a reasonable religion.

7. The Jewish Center Shifts to Spain. But a hundred years after Saadia's death, letters from India and France no longer came to Babylonia for answers, the great Academies closed, the center of Jewish life shifted from the Orient to the Occident. It still remained in Mohammedan and not in Christian lands; but about the year 1000 the leading center of Jewry changed from Moslem Babylonia to Moslem Spain. Little by little, the Jews of Spain had been preparing for leadership. They had become numerous, successful in business and various crafts, and very much at home among the cultured Arabs and Moors. In Christian lands oppression was still too severe for the tiny Jewish settlements to gain in numbers, wealth or learning sufficient for a center; though we shall see that for a single generation one man made such a center for Jewish learning in northern France. But the happiest dwelling places for the Jews were among the Moslems, whenever the latter were tolerant and kind.

Unfortunately they were not always so. The Moslems also had their fanatical sects, which stood equally against the new learning and against toleration for unbelievers. Whenever a revolution placed such a sect at the head of a Moslem kingdom, Jewish learning suffered. Sometimes even a Jewish community would be broken up by the choice of exile or conversion to Mohammedanism. Now, during the eleventh century the great Moslem empire in the east had broken into a number of contending military states. The Turks, a new people in western Asia who still retained many of their barbaric desert ways, had become Moslems and started on a career of conquest. The times were unsettled and the growing power in Egypt and parts of Spain was one that would not tolerate learning among Moslems or Jews.

At the time the Jewish communities of the west were ready to assume leadership, those of the east lost their strength and glory. In our own time Jews still live in Bagdad and throughout the lands where the Talmud was written. But the Jewish Academies were closed shortly after the year 1000; the leadership among Jews, after a thousand years in Palestine and another thousand in Babylonia, passed to the west, to remain there for almost another thousand until the present day.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Under what great empires did the Jews live in ancient times? Under which two great religions in the Middle Ages? What was the relation of these two religions to Judaism?
2. Show how the third great monotheistic religion, Mohammedanism, sprang largely from the first, Judaism.
3. How did the Moslems treat the Jews? Why?
4. Tell how Jewish learning lived on. Did everybody agree with it? Describe the rebellion against the Talmud.

5. Who was the greatest Jewish scholar of this period? What is he noted for?
6. How long did the Jewish center in Babylonia endure? When did it shift, to what country, and why?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The history of the Karaites, and their present existence.
2. Sherirah, the historian of the Gaonim, and the history he told.
3. Mohammedanism, the founder and the religion he founded. See any history of religions, such as Barton, Moore, or Browne: *This Believing World*. Encyclopedia Brittanica has a good article.
4. The great Academies of Babylonia.
5. Report on the small Jewish communities of various European countries during this same period—France, Italy, Spain, and Germany.
6. The Jews of Egypt during these five hundred years. The Jewish community of Kairwan.
7. Debate: Were the Karaites justified in their criticism of the Talmud?
8. The Prince of the Captivity, the Jewish government in Babylonia.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

Meyers: Vol. II, chap. 1-5.

Bildersee: Chap. 6, 7.

Harris: *Thousand Years of Jewish History*, chap. 35-9.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

Margolis and Marx: Chap. 38-41.

Graetz: III, chap. 1-7.

Dubnow: *Outline*, II, chap. 11.

Dubnow: *History*, chap. 8.

Halper: 6, 9, 10, 12.

VIII.

THE GOLDEN AGE IN SPAIN

1. **How Jewish Learning Came to Europe.** A well known legend tells us how the torch of learning, which the Jews carried from Palestine to Babylonia, was transferred to Spain to burn in that hospitable land with such exceeding brightness that until our own day that period is known as the Golden Age of Medieval Judaism.

In the days when the great Academies in Babylonia were still the center of Jewish learning, four rabbis set out to collect money to maintain these schools, which were then supported by funds given by Jews all over the world. The vessel on which they sailed was captured by a Moorish buccaneer and later these four sages were sold as slaves. One, Rabbi Moses ben Enoch, was carried to Cordova, where he was soon ransomed by charitable Jews.

No one in the House of Study suspected the learning of the shabby stranger when he entered it, until a Talmudic question arose which not even the head of the school, Rabbi Nathan, could answer. Rabbi Moses not only explained the disputed point, but continued to answer all the questions on Jewish Law they put to him, so wisely, that Rabbi Nathan said: "This man, who is dressed in sackcloth and who is a stranger, is my teacher and master, and I am his pupil from this day on." Rabbi Moses became the head of the House of Study at Cordova; it was soon felt that the Jews of that place "were no longer dependent on the

people of Babylon." According to this same story the other three rabbis were also redeemed from slavery in various Jewish communities where they, also, established new centers of Jewish learning.

There had been Jews in Spain not only since the very earliest days of that western kingdom, but even before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C. E., small Jewish colonies had been scattered throughout Europe. A few Jewish colonists settled as far north as Paris; there were Jewish settlers in southern France in such commercial centers as Marseilles and Toulouse; for some years one of the two mayors of Narbonne was a Jew. The Jewish community in Rome, beginning in the first century B. C. E., was of some size even before the fall of the Temple. It grew rapidly when Titus brought back from Palestine hordes of Jewish captives. Many of these, redeemed from slavery by their Jewish brethren, became wealthy traders and artisans throughout Italy. There were also Jewish colonies in Belgium, along the Rhine and Danube Rivers, and in Greece. The great Charlemagne was especially gracious to his Jewish subjects.

A story tells of a merchant named Isaac whom he sent with an embassy to the Calif Haroun al Rashid of Arabian Night fame. A Jewish physician later became the advisor of Charlemagne's successor. Although constantly living in the shadow of the sword both in the days of the Roman emperors and later of the intolerant Christian rulers, the Jews of Europe managed to survive as a separate and distinct people.

• **2. The Jews in Moslem Spain.** But it was in Spain that the Golden Age dawned for the sons of Jacob. Here, under the kindly, tolerant rule of the Mohammedans, the Wandering Jews paused long enough to establish what they

fondly believed would be their permanent home. The broken, tired people were again climbing to the mountain top; they were a strong race and their trials had only sharpened their intellects, strengthened their loyalty. Here in Spain they acquired wealth and leisure for study; a student of the Talmud or science might often depend upon a wealthy Jewish patron for bread while he devoted his days and nights to study.

Although not acknowledged as citizens, the Jews were generally tolerated by the Moslems. Except for certain fanatical sects among them, the Mohammedans found little to quarrel over in the differences between the teachings of the prophets, Moses and Mohammed. Best of all, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, the Moslem learning was alive and growing. It was only natural that the eager-minded Jewish scholars, who in Babylonia had learned the Arabic tongue, should now seek to compete with their neighbors in the fields of poetry, science and philosophy. If an age of opportunity for self expression is a great age, these two hundred-odd years in Spain (1000-1215) were indeed a great and glorious age for the Jewish people. It was comparable only to the prophetic period in the days of Judah's independence.

A great age breeds great men. In the Golden Age of Spain we find Jews among the leading men of their day, playing their parts with dignity in every field of life. In a brief Story of the Jew, we cannot even list half the splendid figures that glorified the Jew's sojourn in Spain. But a few names and a few achievements will give some idea of the many paths the Jews followed in those days and how in each of them they brought honor both to themselves and to their people.

3. Chasdai, the Statesman and Patron of Learning. If we wish to study the career of the statesman and lover of learning, we may turn to Chasdai ibn Shaprut of Cordova. In the legend which begins this chapter we have heard of the shifting of the seat of Jewish learning from Babylonia to Spain; in time the Academy of Cordova took the place of the Academy of Sura. In the days of Chasdai, who was born about the year 915, there were so many Jews living in beautiful Cordova that one of the gates of the city was called "The Jews' Gate." The Cordova college with Rabbi Moses at its head soon became so famous that not only the Jews of Spain but of other countries, even Africa, traveled thither until Cordova became the world-center for Jewish learning. Chasdai became the patron and protector of these visiting scholars; he sent to Sura for copies of the Talmud, which he distributed among them. The Gaonim in far-off Babylonia honored their Spanish patron because of his rich gifts to the Academy.

But Chasdai was interested not only in sacred but also in worldly literature. Before his day nearly all of the Jewish poets had written poems to be read in the synagogue service. Under his encouragement they also began to choose the subjects which inspired the Arabic poets about them, as love and wine; others wrote on philosophic subjects. Certain poets, writing in Hebrew, carried on a quarrel, all in poetry, agreeing only on one subject, their mutual admiration for their generous patron, Chasdai. During this period, Hebrew poetry, like the Arabic model, was written for the first time in regular meter.

But Chasdai was more than a lover of art and learning. He was both a physician and a master of languages; because of his knowledge of the Latin tongue he often acted as ambassador to Christian lands for his Arabic masters.

The calif gave Chasdai full control of foreign affairs; his word also ruled in matters of trade and finance. Extremely wealthy and with the power of a vizier, this noble Jew did much to raise the standing of his Jewish brethren in the eyes of the Moslems. He was interested not only in the Jews of Spain, but constantly inquired about his co-religionists in other lands of ambassadors and captains from foreign ports. In this way Chasdai came to learn of that curious medieval kingdom of Jews known as the Chazars.

4. The Jewish Kingdom in South Russia. The story of the Chazars reads like a fairy tale. Far from Spain in the south of Russia on the Caspian Sea a group of sturdy Tartars had founded a nation. Little by little their warrior kings conquered the surrounding territory; the warlike Persians feared them and built a great wall across the Caucasus to keep them out; the rulers of Byzantium and the Russian dukes of Kiev actually paid them tribute. At first these warriors were pagans; later they learned of Christianity and Mohammedanism through Greek and Arab traders. Jewish refugees, seeking to escape religious persecution in their home lands also drifted into the kingdom of the Chazars. Then, in the eighth century, the Chazar king Bulan accepted Judaism.

According to the legend, Bulan was troubled in his soul, wondering which of the three great faiths would prove the best for his people. Advised by an angel, who came to him in a dream, King Bulan called before him representatives of Mohammedanism, Christianity and Judaism. He was convinced by the arguments of the Jew that Judaism was the one true faith, became a Jew and declared that the people of his kingdom should do likewise. Although the Jewish kingdom continued for over two hundred years, there was no intolerance shown to subjects of other re-

ligions. The supreme court of justice, for example, was composed of two Jews, two Christians, two Mohammedans and even one pagan to represent the unconverted Russians and Bulgars.

For many years Jews from distant parts of the world knew nothing of this kingdom of Tartar Jews. But finally Chasdai ibn Shaprut in far-off Cordova in the middle of the tenth century, heard of them from ambassadors from Byzantium. He wrote at once to the reigning king and obtained all the information of the Chazars that we have today. This material was used by the Spanish-Jewish poet, Judah Halevi, as the frame-work for his great philosophic work, "The Kuzari," of which we will read later. The capital city and lands of the Chazars were finally captured about the middle of the tenth century by a Duke of Kiev; the survivors of this strange kingdom were then scattered through the Crimea, where they were soon lost to history. Yet even today throughout southern Russia we find Jews whose tall figures, sandy hair and high cheek bones suggest that they may have descended from the almost forgotten Chazars.

5. Gabirol, Poet and Thinker. A Jewish worthy of Spain whose unhappy life contrasts strongly with the worldly success of Chasdai is the poet-philosopher, Solomon ibn Gabirol. He was left a poor orphan at an early age; later a friend who had been a kind and generous patron died, and he was again left lonely and friendless. Although he has written some bright and witty poems, much of his work shows how little happiness he found in earthly pleasures and how he was led to lean on God for strength and comfort. Some of the beautiful prayers he wrote in verse have come down to us and have become a part of the Jewish prayer book. He was a great lover of Hebrew; in the

rhymed introduction to the Hebrew Grammar he wrote, we find him reproaching the Jews of Spain for neglecting the Holy Tongue.

Gabirol was not only a poet; he was also a philosopher. Like all other philosophers he was interested in such questions as the most noble purpose in life, or God's relation to the world He created and to man. He tried to answer these questions in a book which he wrote in Arabic, "The Fountain of Life." It is interesting to know that for many years Christian priests and Arabic scholars, not knowing the real author, both claimed him as one of their own.

A story, which very likely is only a legend, pictures the death of Gabirol, in Valencia in 1070, as sad as his lonely, wandering life. It tells that a jealous Moslem poet slew him and buried his corpse beneath a fig tree, which later bore such remarkable fruit that the wondering citizens of Valencia dug down to its roots and found the poet's bones.

6. Ibn Ezra, the Wandering Scholar. Another Jewish writer of the Golden Spanish Period who knew poverty, but jested constantly over his own ill-fortune, was Abraham ibn Ezra. Like Gabirol he began writing poems when very young, but unlike Gabirol, his verses, which tell of his many disappointments, are sparkling with wit and good humor. Misfortune seemed to follow Abraham through his entire life; yet he laughed at his poverty, saying that if he became a seller of shrouds no one would die; if he turned to making candles for his living the sun would shine all night. When he visited Cairo, he expected to meet Maimonides, the great Jewish physician-philosopher of whom we will hear later, but was as usual disappointed. Yet he only poked fun at himself by writing:

I call on my lord in the morning,
But am told that on horseback he's sped;
I call once again in the evening,
And hear that his lordship's abed.
But, whether his highness is riding,
Or whether my lord is asleep,
I am perfectly sure disappointment
Is the one single fruit I shall reap.

He also wrote merry and rollicking songs for the home, to be sung at the end of a festival meal; he composed many riddles and even when he wrote essays on Hebrew grammar or introductions to his commentaries on the Bible, he inserted riddles and witty sayings. In the books he wrote to describe his travels, which took him through many lands, we find him inserting humorous bits in his more serious descriptions of the foreign Jewish colonies he visited.

But not all Abraham ibn Ezra's work was humorous! Like so many of the writers of his day, he wrote commentaries on the Torah and Talmud; one of his important works is a defense of the Jewish Sabbath called "The Sabbath Letter." He also composed many beautiful hymns which expressed his unfaltering trust in God. There is a fine picture of him in Browning's poem, "Rabbi Ben Ezra."

7. Judah Halevi, Lover of Palestine. One of this poet's dearest friends was Judah Halevi, whose songs are perhaps the best known of all the poems that have come down to us from these singing days in Spain. Like many of the Jews of his day he studied medicine; in one of his poems he says that he places his faith, not in his own knowledge, but in God. This trust in God was very strong in Judah Halevi; often he speaks of God's love for Israel, calling God the Bridegroom and Israel the Bride. His hymns for the synagogue service are among the most beautiful in the

Hebrew language. Some of his verses were love poems, and he was the author of many marriage songs.

Like so many of the Jewish poets of his day, Judah Halevi was especially interested in religion. He was strictly traditional and in his explanations of the Torah always urged his readers to accept every word of the Bible as true. He did not try to find in them more modern meanings, as the philosophers who were rationalists tried to do. Halevi was interested in the story of the Chazars, which you have already heard. He used the conversion of King Bulan for the central idea of his great religious work, the "Kuzari," which he calls "a defense of the despised faith," meaning Judaism.

In this book, written in Arabic, Halevi defended Judaism, not only against the Mohammedan and Christian scholars, but also against the Jewish philosophers who were not as orthodox in their beliefs as he was. He tells in the form of dialogues how the three representatives of the great faiths, Christianity, Mohammedanism and Judaism appeared before the Chazar king, each to tell why his own religion was the best and why it should be chosen as the national faith of the Chazars. King Bulan, noting that both the Christian and the Mohammedan based the authority for their religion on Judaism, decided that the ancient faith of Israel should become the faith of his people.

In the "Kuzari," Judah Halevi speaks with much love and tenderness of the ancient homeland, Palestine; in it he told of his longing for the desolate and lonely city, Jerusalem. His passion for Zion, which is expressed in so many of his songs, became so strong that it would not let him rest any longer in his sheltered and peaceful home in Spain. He writes that if he only had an eagle's wings, he would

fly straight to Jerusalem. He spoke of the lonely lovers of Zion scattered all over the world, stretching out their arms toward the land their fathers knew. At last his yearning for Zion forced him to bid farewell to the friends of his youth and family; he began the long hard journey to Jerusalem.

After a stormy passage across the Mediterranean, he reached the large Jewish community at Alexandria. His admirers offered him rich gifts and begged him to remain with them, rather than risk the dangers and trials that lay before him. But Judah Halevi was determined to reach Jerusalem so that, as he wrote, he might moisten the holy earth with the tears that he shed over the departed splendors of Israel. Later we hear of him safely arrived in the city of Damascus. It is never known whether he really reached the city of his love and dreams after all; but many of us like to believe the story that he actually stood at last before the gates of the ruined city. Here, according to tradition, he composed his most beautiful and famous poem, his "Ode to Zion," ending with its lovely tribute to Jerusalem.

Thy God desired thee for a dwelling place;
And happy is the man whom He shall choose,
And draw him nigh to rest within thy space.
Happy is he that waiteth:—he shall go
To thee, and thine arising radiance see
When over him shall break thy morning glow;
And see rest for thy chosen; and sublime
Rejoicing find amid the joy of thee
Returned unto thine olden youthful time.

But Judah Halevi never knew the "joy" of dwelling in Jerusalem. It was for the best. His loving heart would surely have broken had he seen the ruin the Mohammedans and the Crusading Christians had brought to the Holy

Places of which he had dreamed so long. Legend tells us that as he knelt kissing the precious dust before the city's gates, an Arab horseman, believing that the hated stranger was mocking the city the people of Mohammed also held sacred, thrust him to earth with his spear. So perhaps Judah Halevi died happy in the thought that his long journey was over and that he would indeed enter that Zion of which he had sung through all his exiled years.

Because these three Spanish Jews, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi all wrote poetry, you may think that most of the books written in this period were in verse. But if in this brief study of the Wanderers' life in Spain, we had time to study the many other works which the Jews of that day wrote and read, we would find lectures upon the Bible, studies in mathematics, medicine and astronomy, travel books and works on Hebrew grammar. Scattered among these graver books, if we wanted lighter reading, we could run across many wise and witty sayings and countless riddles, as these learned writers sometimes wanted to amuse themselves as well as their readers.

8. Maimonides, the Master of Jewish Thought. Of all the famous Jews of the Golden Age, the last and greatest was Moses Maimonides. In an earlier chapter you have read that although the Mohammedans, on the whole, treated the Jews tolerantly and humanely, there were certain fanatical groups among them, who insisted that everyone under their government should either accept the religion of Mohammed or suffer death or exile. In 1148 a group of these Mohammedan fanatics captured Cordova, where the father of Maimonides was a teacher at the famous college. Moses, who was then about thirteen years old, went into exile with his father and brother.

In their wanderings to find a home the family passed through Morocco and Palestine, coming at last to Cairo. Here the deaths of his father and brother left Maimonides alone in the world. As he believed, like the rabbis of old, that no one should earn his living by teaching the Torah, he supported himself by the practise of medicine. He became so famous in his profession that Saladin, the powerful ruler over Egypt and Palestine, appointed him physician to the royal household. There is even a story that Richard the Lion Hearted of England, hearing of the skill of Maimonides while crusading in Palestine, wished to appoint the learned Jew as his personal physician; but Maimonides refused. Perhaps he did not wish to leave the land of the kindly Saladin. Had he done so, he would have been sorely missed by the common people of Cairo, whom he was never too tired or too busy to heal.

But it is as a master of the Jewish law that Maimonides was most respected in his own day as in all succeeding days. It was his vast store of Jewish learning which has won for him a place among the greatest of Jewish thinkers of all times. From all over the world Jews wrote to ask him questions concerning their religion; whenever a dispute arose among them it was Maimonides, as tolerant as he was wise, who was first considered as judge. Yet with all these demands upon his time, he still managed to devote many hours to his studies. He was learned, not only in the Jewish, but in the Christian and Mohammedan religions; he knew the philosophy of the Greeks; in the sciences he was versed in astronomy and mathematics as well as medicine. No wonder that at his death the saying arose, "From Moses to Moses there has been no one like Moses," because from the time of Moses the Lawgiver there had been no Jewish teacher like Moses Maimonides.

Among the many writings of Maimonides, the three most outstanding are his Commentary on the Mishna, "The Light", his great Code, "The Strong Hand", and his study of the Jewish faith, "Guide to the Perplexed." In "The Light," which was written in Arabic, he gives the famous Thirteen Articles of Faith, the thirteen principles of Judaism, on which our religion is based today. This was a very valuable piece of work as at that time there was no longer any particular center of Jewish learning, as Palestine or Babylonia had been. Later these Thirteen Articles, which tell so clearly what the Jew believes concerning God and prayer and the Torah, were arranged in the Hebrew poem, "Yigdal," which is still sung every Sabbath in our synagogue service.

"The Strong Hand" is an excellent arrangement of all the Jewish laws of the Talmud. Only a genius like Maimonides could have mastered all of the many Jewish laws of this ponderous work so successfully, and arranged them so clearly. For example, in one section he arranged all of the laws on theft; in another part are systematized all of the laws on marriage.

But perhaps his greatest work was "The Guide to the Perplexed," in which Maimonides develops the ideas of Saadiah, whom you studied in the last chapter. Because Maimonides knew Greek philosophy and Arabic science so thoroughly, it is only natural that he attempted to teach the Jewish religion in a new way. Maimonides did not criticize the many Jews who still believed everything the earlier rabbis had taught them. But he knew that in his day there were many "perplexed" people, no longer able to accept just what their fathers had believed. Some pious Jews of his day opposed him because of his new

ideas and even called him an unbeliever. Today we all know that there was never a truer Jew than Maimonides, nor a more reverent servant of the Law.

9. **Rashi, the Prince of Commentators.** Before we end this happy and fruitful chapter in the Story of the Jew, we must turn to northern France for a moment and visit the study of Rashi who taught there a century earlier. Maimonides was the prince of scholars; all the learned Jews of his day looked to him as their leader. But the common people loved Rashi best. For his writings were so simple and homely that those Jews who knew nothing beyond their Talmud looked upon Rashi as the guide to help them understand both the Talmud and the Torah. Even today a Jew who has studied very little of the other great Hebrew commentators on the Bible will be sure to know the works of Rashi.

Rashi as a young man studied in the German rabbinic colleges of Worms and Mayence. Later he became a teacher himself in his home town of Troyes, where his school became one of the most famous centers of Jewish learning through all Europe. Like so many Jewish teachers he refused to earn his living by sharing his knowledge with others; instead, he and his wife supported themselves by the making of wine, one of the commonest industries of the part of France in which they lived.

Rashi's writings on the Torah and the Talmud were so intelligible that when a man wrote clearly enough for everyone to understand he was said to "write like Rashi." In spite of his own great learning this French rabbi wrote in such a popular way that anybody who could read Hebrew was able to understand his meaning. No wonder that his admiring pupils said that without him the

Talmud would have remained a closed book! Like Judah Halevi, Rashi did not try to give his followers new ideas; he was satisfied to instruct them in the teachings of the fathers. Like Hillel he was modest and sympathetic and was loved as much for his kindness as for his undisputed wisdom.

The end of Rashi's useful and happy life was darkened by the horrors of the First Crusade, of which we will read in our next chapter. But if the gentle Rashi ever gazed far enough into the future, it must have cheered his soul to realize that through the bloody persecutions of the Crusades, and through the exiles of the Jews of Spain and Germany and France, his teachings would be a staff of support and guidance in the hand of the Wandering People.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. When was the Jewish center transferred from Asia to Europe? Why?
2. Why was this period called the Golden Age?
3. Tell the story of the Jewish kingdom.
4. What is important about the following:
 - a. Chasdai ibn Shaprut.
 - b. Solomon ibn Gabirol.
 - c. Abraham ibn Ezra.
 - d. Judah Halevi.
 - e. Moses Maimonides.
 - f. Rashi.
5. Who was the most popular Jewish writer of the Middle Ages? What did he write? Give a sketch of his life.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The various kinds of books written by Jews during this period. The simplest book on this subject is Israel Abrahams: Chapters in Jewish Literature.
2. Read some of the poems of one of these great Jewish poets; select a passage to read in class; describe the poems; tell how you enjoyed them, and why.
3. Cordova, its Jewish community, its Academy.

4. Jewish statesmen of Spain. Chasdai was not the only one, though the most prominent.
5. The life and works of Maimonides.
6. The Biblical commentaries, why they were so important, the different kinds (grammatical, midrashic, literal and mystical), their leading authors, with special attention to Rashi.

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EUROPE IN 1500
SHOWING LANDS OF
JEWISH SETTLEMENT



IX.

THE AGE OF DARKNESS COMES OVER EUROPE

1. Why the Jews Were Hated. The red trail of death and destruction which the Crusades smeared over every Jewish quarter in Europe, as the knights rode gallantly and the peasants plodded on to the Holy Land was not a new story to the Jew. From the days when he wept for Zion under the willows of Babylon, he had known what it was to be a hated alien in the midst of a strange people. The birth of Christianity had only made his lot harder. The Babylonian and the Greek and the Roman had always disliked and mistrusted the Jew as a queer monster who worshipped a God that no man could see. But the Christian church taught its followers that these unbelievers were of the race which had crucified their Saviour.

It has been well said that for every tear Jesus shed, thousands of innocent Jews have wept under the tortures inflicted upon them by followers of the gentle Nazarene; that for every drop of blood Jesus lost under the hands of his Roman executioners, rivers of Jewish blood have streamed to satisfy Christian revenge. From the days of the converted Roman emperors, the Jew was more than a man who had denied the Son of God whom the Christian worshipped; he was considered the personal murderer of that Son of God.

Of course, in many cases the more fanatical sects of the Mohammedans also persecuted the Jew. We have seen how they helped to close the Academies of Babylonia. Even in Spain, which for many years was a place of refuge for the Wanderer, there were frequent uprisings against the Jews. For in those days religion and nationalism were still one and the same thing; no one could believe that a man who did not follow the teachings of Mohammed could be a full fledged citizen of a Moslem kingdom.

On the whole, however, Moslem rule was tolerant; had the Moors never lost their power in Spain, it is very likely that one of the bloodiest and most terrible chapters in the Story of the Jew would have remained unwritten. While in the rest of Europe the cloud of Christian hatred darkened and spread until it seemed for a while that the Jewish people would surely be blotted out forever.

An old fable tells that a hungry wolf, after accusing a lamb of certain crimes and proving none of them, decided to eat him up just the same. Even more unfortunate than the lamb in the story, the Jews of Europe through the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were constantly accused and devoured not by one wolf but by three, the Christian Church, the Law and the Mob.

2. The Church Oppresses the Jews. The Christian Church, justifying its many cruelties by repeating the charge that the Jews were descendants of the murderers of Jesus, punished them in a thousand ways. Their methods varied from forbidding them to walk upon the public streets on Easter, to death at the stake. They even tried to force conversion upon them. A number of popes, especially the powerful Innocent III, were particularly cruel. When he presided at the famous Fourth Lateran

Council at Rome in 1215, he insisted that the cruel laws the Jews had previously suffered from should be made more severe. One of the most insulting laws forced every Jew to wear a badge of one kind or another—usually a yellow cap—to distinguish him from good Christians. This was dangerous as well as degrading, as it made every Jewish man and woman even more of a mark than before for any spiteful persons who wished to abuse them.

Jews were forced to pay taxes to the Church. Those who had been baptized were forbidden to practise any of the customs of their fathers; while the Jews were also forbidden to follow certain trades. A few years later the Church attacked the Talmud, saying that it taught Jews that it was not wrong to deceive Christians in business or even to murder them. In France Jews were forced to give up their copies of this book, which had been such a comfort to them in their wanderings; indignant but helpless, they were forced to stand idly by as their beloved Talmud was thrown into the flames. The grief of the Jewish people was well expressed by Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg. This noble teacher was kept a prisoner for many years by the Emperor Rudolph who demanded a heavy ransom for his release; but Rabbi Meir would not allow his faithful friends to purchase his freedom. He said that if they did so, other rabbis and leading Jews would be thrown into prison for the sake of ransom.

For many weary years, the "light of the Exile," as the good rabbi was called, remained in prison until Death, more merciful than the emperor, released him. During his captivity, Rabbi Meir wrote many commentaries, prayers and poems. Some of these are recited in our synagogues even to this day; one of the finest of his poems, which has found

a place in the service for the Ninth of Ab, laments the burning of the Talmud in these words:

Ask, is it well, O thou consumed of fire,
With those that mourn for thee,
That yearn to tread thy courts, that sore desire
Thy sanctuary.

That, panting for thy land's sweet dust, are grieved,
And sorrow in their souls,
And by the flames of wasting fire bereaved,
Mourn for thy scrolls. . . .

3. Three Terrible Slanders: the Black Death, the Host and the Blood Accusations. But even a heavier sorrow was to come upon the Jews of Europe. The ignorant people were quite ready to believe their priests, who told them that the Jews were wicked infidels who had killed Jesus. Hating them, the mob began to invent all kinds of slanders against the Jewish people. When the Black Death spread over Europe in 1348, a rumor was circulated that the Jews, the enemies of all Christendom, started the terrible disease by poisoning the wells. Nobody took the trouble to find out whether the Jews themselves suffered from the plague; nobody learned how many actually died from this plague, which was so hard to conquer because of the filthy condition of the people and the lack of medical knowledge. It is always easy to believe a lie concerning a race which we both hate and fear. Everywhere that the Black Death appeared it was followed by frightful massacres of the Jews, who were blamed for spreading the disease.

The Jews also suffered when they were falsely accused of insulting the Host. The Host is a piece of sacred bread, used in the church communion in memory of the Last Supper of Jesus and his disciples. To the Jew it could mean nothing more than the matzos he used in his own Passover

feast; but to the Catholic it represents the actual body of Christ. On one occasion many Jews were slaughtered because when the Host was carried by in a procession, several children in their play accidentally cast dust upon the holy wafer. Another time the Jews suffered death because of a rumor that in mockery of the Christians they had pierced the Host until it dripped with blood.

The next step was to bring to life the old, old falsehood that the Jews actually used Christian blood in preparing their Passover feast. The Jew has always had such a horror of blood that his laws forbid him even to retain the blood of an animal in the meat he serves upon his table. Yet there are countless stories of the Middle Ages, and even in modern times, of Christian children kidnapped during the Passover season and murdered that their blood might be mixed with the dough of the matzos. If a Christian child seen at that time near the Jewish quarter was afterwards lost, the Jews feared for their lives. They knew only too well that, unless the child were speedily found, many of them would have to face imprisonment, torture and even death.

4. **The Mob and the Law.** But the cruelty of the mob rose to its highest pitch during the Crusades. When we read of the Crusades in books of chivalry we think of gallant knights upon prancing horses, followed by earnest peasants, all of them wearing the cross on their shoulder and eager to reach the Holy Land. But the path of the Crusaders across Europe was dyed crimson with the blood of innocent, helpless Jews. The priests, often mad with excitement, asked the mob why good Christians should take this long and dangerous journey to save the tomb of Jesus from the Moslems of Palestine, while his murderers lived in comfort in Europe? The mob's answer was always

the same: "Death to the Jews!" In town after town after the glittering company of knights and peasants had passed, the few surviving Jews gathered up their dead in the ruins of their plundered homes.

Yet not even this troubled, uncertain life in Europe was granted to the Jews. We have seen them persecuted by the Church, torn to pieces by the Mob; now the Law was to give them no peace. The Jews were supposed to be the servants of the ruling monarch and under his protection. They really were at the mercy of the nobleman upon whose land they lived. If he chose to ill-treat them, beggar them with unjust taxes, or even to turn them over to an angry Mob, there was really no Law to protect them. Until at last the Church influenced the Law to drive the Jews out of the lands which, in spite of the persecutions they had known, they had come to consider their homes.

5. The Expulsions—England, France and Germany. In England, the Jews had lived since the days of William the Conqueror, who in 1066 brought a few of them from France in his train on his invasion of Britain. These Jews prospered in England; many of them became merchants; others grew rich as money lenders; a few even lived in stone houses, which aroused the envy of their neighbors. Sometimes the Mob grew bloodthirsty, as in the days of Richard the Lionhearted, when the Jews of York were forced to slay their children and themselves rather than fall alive into the hands of their enemies. Yet, on the whole, the Jews felt fairly secure under the protection of the king. But in 1290, Edward I, who had already passed severe laws against the Jews, one forcing them to wear the hated badge, another forbidding them to hold public office, allowed them four months in which to leave England. Their lands and their houses were seized

by that Law which refused to protect them any longer. Beggared and homeless, the Jews of England, about sixteen thousand souls, sought a home in Flanders and France.

But in France the same sorrowful story was repeated. There the Jews already knew harsh laws; they had seen their Talmud burned; they had been slaughtered like sheep by prince, priest and peasant. Yet for nearly one thousand years, France had been a home for the wandering people; when in 1306 they were driven forth, many felt that they were being banished from their fatherland. Later the Jews were permitted to return; but their lives grew more and more bitter, until in 1394 a law was passed that in the future no Jew might live in France, except in the provinces under the rule of the Pope. Again the Story of the Jew shows the same terrible picture—the homeless people taking their staves in their hands as they set out on a new exile.

In Germany Jewish suffering reached its height during the plague of the Black Death. In Mayence alone about six thousand Jews were slain; at Strassburg the whole Jewish population was burnt as a public spectacle. Even when the Jews escaped with their lives, their property was either seized in the name of the local lord or plundered by the rioters. In many cases the survivors were banished. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there remained only three large Jewish communities in Germany. Of course, it must be remembered that the empire of that period (called the Holy Roman Empire) was not the Germany we know today; it was an Empire composed of many small states, each with its own ruler, who made his own laws. For this reason the Jews when driven from one principality in Germany often found refuge in another German

community; or they even returned to their own homes when a more favorably disposed ruler took possession. Still, there was a great exodus from Germany about the year 1500. Nearly all of these wanderers went to Poland, where we shall meet them again as the large and important community of Polish Jewry.

6. Nachmanides, Debator for Judaism. Of course, in such troubled times it was impossible for the Jews to live the rich intellectual life they had enjoyed in Babylonia or during the Golden Days in Spain. But even in the midst of all their oppressions, their massacres and their expulsions, they never ceased to study, to teach and to think. Strangely enough, the persecuting Church itself helped the despised Jewish scholars to keep their minds alert. When the Church attacked the Jewish religion, especially the Talmud, the reigning monarch often arranged a debate between some famous priestly scholar and the leading rabbi of the community, that each might show why his religion was the best. In a way, these battles were often very dangerous to the Jewish people. They were put in the position of the lamb who tried to argue with the wolf, and who, in spite of his excellent pleading, was eaten up at the end. But they were also very valuable to the Jews, since they stimulated and kept alive Jewish scholarship.

Nachmanides of Spain was the most famous of these Jewish debators. He is an interesting figure in the history of Jewish learning. He spent a great part of his life trying to make peace between the followers of Maimonides, whose teachings were too advanced to please the masses of his own time, and the more orthodox Talmudic scholars of France. He was less successful when he was called upon to compare the teachings of Judaism with Christianity. The Spanish king, urged on by a con-

verted Jew, ordered Nachmanides to meet this convert in public debate at Barcelona.

In this debate, which lasted four days, Nachmanides argued too well for his own safety. One of the chief points which they discussed dealt with Jesus as the Messiah. Nachmanides declared that the Jews had always believed that their Messiah would bring with him a reign of peace and goodwill to all mankind; but since the coming of Jesus, the Messiah of the Christians, the world had suffered from wars and persecutions as never before. Appealing to the Christian king and his Christian followers, Nachmanides said: "It is for thee, O king, to put an end to all thy war-making, as it is necessary for the beginning of the Messianic kingdom."

The king was pleased with Nachmanides; but the priests claimed the victory for their speaker. They later actually persuaded the ruler to banish Nachmanides for what they considered his attacks on the Christian religion. Nachmanides, a disappointed man, journeyed to Jerusalem. In this city of memory and ruins, he gathered a few Jewish families around him, sent for some scrolls of the Law and established a little synagogue. Here he wrote his important commentary on the Torah and his beautiful hymns, some of which are recited in our synagogue service even today.

But during these troubled times such geniuses as Nachmanides were rare. Judah ibn Tibbon and many members of his gifted family are prominent among the large group of Jewish scholars of this period who served their people in the humbler role of translators. Many of these translators lived in southern France. Because they were so close to Spain they knew the Arabic tongue of the Moslems and were able to translate into Hebrew the

Arabic works of Ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi and others, for Hebrew was still the language of the Jew. In this way, the teachings of the Jews of the Golden Age of Spain were sent to bring light and comfort to their brothers during the dark days of suffering throughout Europe.

7. The Secret Study—the Kabbalah. But the greater refuge for the Jews in these times of doubt and terror was the Kabbalah. We have seen that when the Jewish people suffered under Roman rule many of them tried to find release from their troubles by dreaming of another world—a world of peace and happiness. Others were even ready to accept Jesus or Bar Kochba as their true Messiah. In the same way the words of the Kabbalah filled them with hope. The pages of these strange books were filled with miracles and wonders; the Jew who read and believed felt certain that in time he too would see such miracles with his own eyes and be saved with his unhappy people.

The Kabbalah, which means tradition, began to be written down very long ago; some say, before the Romans destroyed the Temple at Jerusalem. In it we find the fancies and superstitions not only of the Jews but of the different peoples among whom they were scattered; in it we find the demons of the Babylonians, bits from “mystery” religions of the Greeks and Romans, Arabic legends, stories of angels, both good and evil, spells and magic rites. We find here the kindly angel Sandalphon, the friend of little children; and here too are charms to ward off the evil eye. It is hard for us today to realize that many of the most learned men of their day actually studied these Kabbalistic works seriously, to seek in them the mysteries which neither reason nor the Bible could explain, while the Christians sometimes studied Hebrew in order that they too might reach this secret source of knowledge.

In less oppressive times, the Jews had studied science. Some even read their Torah in the light of reason and worked out a reasonable philosophy like that of Maimonides. But when their troubles piled up upon them increasing from one century to the next, they fled from the hard reality into a world of dreams and hopes. Reason only taught them how hard life was for the Jew; Kabbalah gave them hope of a better world to come.

The most sacred book of the Kabbalah was a strange work known as the Zohar, or Brightness, which first appeared in Spain about the year 1300. It was probably compiled by Moses de Leon; but he claimed that he merely discovered it, and many people believed that it had been written long before by Simeon ben Yochai during his years of exile when he hid from the Romans in a cave. Certainly, there are many very ancient ideas in the Zohar; for Moses de Leon did not write a new book. He gathered together from many places a great many different kinds of passages and put them into one binding.

In this way the Kabbalah contains the queerest collection of all the ideas that all its followers had worked out for a thousand years or more, the oddest and most outlandish expressions, even superstitions and magic, and on the same page prayers of great beauty or high moral teachings. The student would fast and pray, as well as study the Zohar and its commentaries, until he might receive a vision, see for himself Paradise with all its angels and perhaps even God. He would try to predict when the Messiah would come by explaining the magic numbers in the book of Daniel. He would try to purify his soul, and bring heaven nearer to himself and to the world.

8. The Inquisition Tortures and Burns the Jews. Never since the day when the Temple flamed beneath the Roman



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torches did the Jewish people need a Messiah so badly. For during the period when the unhappy Jews suffered alike from the Law and the Mob, the Church became an even more deadly enemy and, through the Inquisition, seemed ready to stamp out the last dying remnant of the martyred people.

The Inquisition, as its name suggests, was a court to inquire how faithful the people were to the Church. Its business was to discover and punish anyone who proved untrue to the Christian religion. It had the power to punish those found guilty by depriving them of their property and turning them over to the officers of the law to be put to death as criminals.

Although the Inquisition spread practically all over Europe and tortured and killed many Christians, who had broken away from the Catholic Church to form churches of their own, its chief work was performed in Spain with the Marranos, or Secret Jews. Many Jews, after the Christians had taken possession of Moslem Spain, had been forced to accept baptism. Some of them became true Christians. But a great many others, although they outwardly obeyed all the rules of their new religion, secretly practised the laws of their own faith. This was considered treason against the Church, and the Marranos were treated even more severely than the Jews who had refused to give up their religion.

The spies of the Inquisition were constantly on the watch to discover Jewish backsliding; if a New Christian, as these converted Jews were called, refused to eat pork, or if he put on fresh linen on the Jewish Sabbath, he might be reported as a heretic who had returned to Judaism. A gentile servant in his house would whisper to one of the

Inquisitors that his master had met with nine other New Christians to fast and pray in a cellar on Yom Kippur; or had erected a booth of branches in his garden for Succoth. Then the offender would be seized and thrown into prison; he might often be tortured until he was made to confess that he had returned to Judaism. If the Marrano was fortunate he might escape by paying a large sum of money to the Church and by receiving some punishment such as scourging; but more often he was condemned to be burned alive at the stake as a warning to other deserters from the true Church.

Soon the dungeons of the Inquisition were crowded with Marranos, abused and tortured by the black-robed priests, until often they were willing not only to confess their own crime of desertion from Christianity but to accuse even their own families, in the hope of receiving some little mercy from their jailors. But there was no mercy in the hearts of the Inquisitors. In every large town of Spain the unhappy prisoners, dressed in sackcloth, left their dungeons to pass before a jeering mob on their last hard journey to the Cathedral Square. Here fagots were piled high and the public executioners stood ready; for the Church would shed no blood and therefore handed its offenders over to the Law for the death penalty.

Jews who at the last moment renounced their Judaism, were mercifully strangled before their bodies were thrown to the flames; but those who refused even to the last to accept the teachings and the pardon of the Church were burned alive. Again and again Jewish martyrs like Rabbi Akiba of old suffered death for their faith; again and again above the flames Jewish voices cried out, "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One!"

9. The Jews leave Spain forever. At last even the In-

quisition realized that these stubborn Jews could not be conquered. Torquemada, the Chief Inquisitor, believed that as long as the Jews remained in Spain the Marranos would be tempted to slip back to their former religion. It was not hard to persuade the reigning monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, that the Jews deserved to be banished from the kingdom. The last of the unbelieving Mohammedans were being driven from the country at the fall of the Moslem stronghold at Granada; it seemed only right that the Jews, persecutors of the Savior himself, should go with them.

Don Isaac Abarbanel, a Jew who held an important position at the Spanish court, and was largely responsible for securing the gold from the Jewish money-lenders for Columbus' first voyage, appeared with several other rich and influential Jews before the king and queen; he offered thirty thousand ducats (\$70,000) if they would recall the law banishing the Jews. Ferdinand was tempted, for he needed the money badly for new wars against the Moslems. Perhaps the womanly heart of the beautiful Queen Isabella was touched with pity as well as greed. But as the two monarchs listened to the pleas of the Jews before their throne, Torquemada hurried into the audience chamber. "Judas sold his Savior for thirty pieces of silver," he cried, "Will you sell him again for thirty thousand?" Ferdinand and Isabella did not dare to answer him; the decree for the banishment of the Jews remained unrepealed.

And so on August 2, 1492, on the Ninth day of Ab, the day on which the Temple fell, another long exile for these three hundred thousand Jews began. They had lived in Spain so long that to those who bade a weeping farewell to the tombstones of their fathers, this banishment seemed as dreadful a sorrow as the destruction of Jerusalem. No

one was spared; in the long, wailing procession white-haired rabbis and weak children stumbled side by side; mothers carried babies in their arms, while their husbands bore in packs upon their bowed shoulders all that they were able to carry away from their vast possessions. The lovely dwellings in which the Jews had been so happy in the golden days of Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi, their pleasant vineyards, all were sold for a few pieces of gold. The Jewish people who had given to Spain, their adopted fatherland, ministers of state, physicians, philosophers and poets, wept farewell to the land that was theirs no longer, and set out to find a new home.

Fortunately for the Wanderer, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had given the Mohammedans possession of Turkey. The Turkish Sultan, like most Mohammedan rulers, was well-disposed to the Jews. All who came to Turkey were well-treated; they were allowed to build schools and synagogues and to practise their own religion in peace. But still the exiles could not forget Spain and to this day, four centuries later, the Turkish Jews speak Ladino, a Spanish tongue. Others scattered through Portugal, southern France and Italy; a large number found refuge in Holland. Here there already was a prosperous settlement of wealthy and aristocratic Jews who had fled to the little Protestant kingdom to escape the persecutions of the Inquisition.

As the tiny boats which bore the exiles to their unknown homes left the harbor, it is very likely that they passed three ships, fitted out with Jewish gold, and captained by one Christopher Columbus. Columbus never dreamed that in his search for a shorter route to India he would discover a New World. These broken Jewish waifs could not know that this New World would be a haven of peace for the

persecuted wanderers in days to come. And indeed, it took many long and weary years for the light of freedom that dawned for these wretched ones in 1492 to shine into the gloomy darkness which lay behind the ghetto walls.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the attitude of the medieval Christian Church toward the Jews? Give examples.
2. Name three false accusations against the Jews; tell the results of these accusations.
3. Tell about the Crusades; their purpose; what they brought to the Jews.
4. What countries were the Jews expelled from? When? Why?
5. What was the chief type of Jewish thought during this period? Describe it; tell why the Jews and Christians were interested in it and believed in it.
6. What was the purpose of the Inquisition? What did it mean to the Jews?
7. What was the greatest calamity to the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem? Describe it.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The treatment of Jews in Mohammedan as compared with Christian countries. Take Spain, where the two were in conflict, as a good illustration.
2. The Marranos as a topic for report. As a debate: Were the Marranos justified?
3. The Crusades.
4. Chivalry and knighthood; why were not the Jews a part of this interesting movement? Have you read "Ivanhoe"?
5. The reasonable religion of the Philosophers and the mystical religion of the Kabalists.
6. The Inquisition—its purpose, methods, and accomplishments: its relation to the Jews.

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X.

THE WALLS OF THE GHETTO RISE ABOUT THE JEWS

1. What was the Ghetto? In our last chapter we saw the Jewish people wandering, bewildered and uncertain, across all Europe, driven out of England, France and Germany and finally Spain, so long the center of Jewish light and learning. But after the year 1492 we find them again huddled in groups, some large, some small; the center of world Jewry now shifts from Spain to Germany and Poland. The scattered people are now surrounded by the Ghetto walls, which will not fall until the new dawn of Jewish freedom in 1789.

The word Ghetto is thought to have come from the Hebrew word "get", meaning separate, or perhaps from the Jewish quarter of Venice, which was near the iron foundry, or "gietto." It was in Venice that the Jews were first penned in like so many animals, with huge iron gates that were locked at night. The Ghetto was placed in the dirtiest and unhealthiest part of the city; the overcrowding brought filth and disease. Although the Jews had always considered themselves a "peculiar people," set apart by their own religious laws from their neighbors, now they began to realize that this forced separation was meant to keep them away from the Christian population like an unclean thing.

If you could picture these first Ghettos of Venice and Rome you would be sickened by the tall, dingy buildings with

their tiny rooms. You will understand how degraded the Jews felt as they passed down the narrow, winding streets reeking with foul odors. You will wonder why they cared to live at all when they were forced to dwell in such a horrible place, which they could not leave without wearing the hated Jewish badge that singled them out as a mark for the street boys' stones. The Jew had to pay special taxes; he was denied the right to make a living in any respectable trade; he was lucky if he could earn bread for his family by acting as pawnbroker or rag peddler.

Yet that bread always tasted sweet to him after he had recited the ancient Hebrew blessing over it, as a priest at the family table, which became his altar. No matter how the gentiles stoned and cursed him all through the week, he might return for the Friday night festival and sit like a prince in the midst of his children. In the heart of the Ghetto stood his synagogue, his house of prayer and study, his center for all the merrymaking his hard days knew, the club house where he met with his fellow Jews. The torch of learning and hope which Rabbi Jochanan carried from ruined Jerusalem to Jabneh still burned; now it was the Ner Tomid (the everlasting light) shining in every humble little synagogue throughout Europe.

These Ghettos, places of gloom and darkness, lit only by the Ner Tomid which all the persecutions could never wholly quench, spread from Italy all over Europe. We find them in every large city of Germany, where many of the Jews, after being driven from one province, wandered to another within the limits of the empire, and began to rebuild their broken fortunes again; two of the most important of these Ghettos grew up at Frankfort-on-the-Main and Prague.

Not only in the locked Ghettos of Germany and Italy, but also in Poland, to which many German Jews had drifted, the Jews lived a life of their own. They had their own religion, their own courts and schools. Even their language developed into a jargon of German and Hebrew called "Yiddish," which today is still the tongue of millions of Jews of Eastern Europe.

2. The Court Jews. During this period we find one of the most interesting characters in our entire history, the Court Jew. At a time when the Church passed some of its cruelest laws against Israel, and Jewish doctors were forbidden to have Christian patients, the Popes at Rome were likely to number a Jewish physician among the members of their households. Or in a country where no Jew might live on pain of death, there might be one not only living unmolested in the capital city, but enjoying the favor of the king, whom he served as banker or diplomat, though in an unofficial capacity. Again and again these Court Jews risked their positions by pleading for their brethren in time of need; and so important were they and so necessary to their royal masters, that their prayers were often granted, and they were able to assist their fellow Jews in time of trouble.

One of the most picturesque Court Jews of this period was Joseph Süß Oppenheimer, known as Der Jud Süß, who became the mightiest man in the Grand Duchy of Wurtemberg in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, only to fall into the hands of his enemies at the end and swing from the scaffold. Towards the end of this century we find another Court Jew, almost as spectacular, but much happier, the banker, Mayer Ansel, founder of the Rothschild family. They received their name from the red shield which decorated their home in the Ghetto.

But the sons of the Court Jews of the Frankfort Ghetto, forged ahead in the age of the freedom, as we will study in later pages. They passed from land to land, and everywhere they became successful bankers with kings as friends; they were ennobled in cities as different as London and Vienna. To be "as rich as Rothschild" became a Jewish proverb. Their wealth was equalled by their charity. As our history proceeds we shall be able to mention only one of these philanthropists, Baron Edmund de Rothschild, the friend of Palestine. Whole histories have been written about this family alone, so powerful in world affairs, and, like the Court Jews of earlier times, so anxious to serve their people through their wealth and influence.

3. New Jewish Settlements. We have seen how the Jew who left Spain in 1492 found a home in Turkey, and the neighboring provinces governed by the Mohammedans. Others settled in Holland after that country had broken the yoke of Catholic Spain and, as a liberal Protestant kingdom, treated the Jews with great tolerance. For over a hundred years Amsterdam was the leading Jewish community in the world. But even in Holland, where many who had been exiled from Spain grew rich and successful, the wanderers were not all at peace. Some of them drifted further to South America, and in a later chapter we shall read of a small company of these wanderers arriving at New Netherlands (New York).

It was due to the efforts of one of these Jews from Holland, Manasseh ben Israel, that the Jews were allowed to return to England. Manasseh was the son of a Spanish Jew who had escaped to Holland from the torture chambers of the Inquisition. The boy became an excellent scholar of the Bible and Talmud and a master of languages at an early age; by the time he was eighteen he taught in

one of the Jewish schools of Amsterdam. It is interesting to learn that in order to add to his salary, which was not large enough to support his family, Manasseh learned the comparatively new art of printing and set up the first Hebrew printing press in Holland. Later on, several wealthy Jews appointed him head of a college they had founded, and he was now able to devote more of his time to study.

As Manasseh was an adept writer in a half a dozen languages, it was easy for him to appeal not only to Jewish scholars but also to Christian thinkers, and to make many friends for his people among those who knew very little of the Jewish faith. Manasseh, like so many leading Jewish sages of his time, believed in the two ancient prophecies—that the Messiah would come after the Jews had been purified of their sins through long sufferings and only after they had been scattered all over the earth. It seemed to Manasseh that the fearful days of the Crusades and the Inquisition fulfilled the first part of the old prophecy. But he was troubled when he realized that since 1290 no Jew had been allowed to live in England. Manasseh believed that if the Jews returned to England, the most northern kingdom of the inhabited world, their long world-exile would be over, and the Messiah would appear to bring peace and happiness to all the nations of the earth.

There was no longer a king in England to whom Manasseh could appeal in behalf of the Jews. The Puritans, who had dethroned and beheaded Charles I., were now in power, with Oliver Cromwell at the head of the government. The Puritans were tolerant to other faiths, more so than the kings who had ruled before them. Better still, they were actually interested in the Jews as the people of the Bible, a book which they themselves knew and loved and made the guide of their daily lives.

Manasseh, both in his clear-cut and dignified letters to the English government, and in his personal interview with Cromwell, pleaded so well in defense of the Jews, that Cromwell was willing to allow them to return at once to the land from which they had been exiled three hundred and fifty years before. But there were still many Englishmen prejudiced against the Jews and powerful enough to oppose Cromwell. Manasseh on his return to Holland died grieving over his disappointment. Yet his work was not in vain; within ten years Jews were permitted to live in England. Although there were still many laws against them, they were allowed to practise their religion openly and without fear. Like Holland, England proved a land of opportunity and freedom after the cruel nightmare of Spain, and also in comparison with the Ghettos of Germany and Poland.

4. The Jew Apart from World Movements. But even in the darkness of the Ghetto there was light. It was not the light of learning and liberty that the Renaissance and the Reformation brought to the world outside. It was a light from within, the steady, devoted glow of the Jewish soul itself. The Renaissance, as you have read in your history of Europe, brought new life to the people outside the Ghetto walls. Beginning in Italy, it meant a rebirth in Art and Literature and Learning in all Europe. The invention of printing scattered this new learning far and wide. The discovery of America and the voyages that followed opened new worlds of adventure. It was as though the peoples of Europe had wakened from a long sleep, and were turning their faces toward the sunrise.

But to the Jew, crowded behind his locked Ghetto walls, the poems of Dante, the paintings of Raphael, the circling of the globe by Magellan meant very little. He no longer

studied any books except his own. As his religion forbade the making of images, sculpture and painting were sinful in his eyes. Living in the narrow circle of the Ghetto, what did it matter to him that bold adventurers discovered new worlds across the seas? Sometimes, when gentile scholars of the New Learning came to the rabbis to study Hebrew, the Jews dared to hope that this new day would bring a little more understanding and tolerance of the martyred people. But these broad-minded Christians were few in number and powerless to break the locks which sealed the Ghetto gates.

The Jews were also disappointed in the Reformation. In 1517, Martin Luther, a German monk, began his famous attack on the Church of Rome. All over Europe, especially in Germany and England, many Catholics had grown weary of the tyranny of the Church. They followed Luther in his protest against certain evils in Catholicism, and finally broke away from the Mother Church to form the Protestant religion. At first Luther was very friendly to Israel, believing that his kindness might convert the stubborn people who had refused to yield under all the harsh treatment of the Popes of Rome. But, when the Jews still refused to become converted, Luther turned against them and became their bitter enemy.

5. The Law, his Defense. The Jew could not hope to share in the new spirit that was slowly freeing the outer world. He remained in his narrow Ghetto, breathing an atmosphere of fear and oppression that would have stifled him, had he not been kept alive by his age-long devotion to his faith. Those who are ignorant of Judaism often speak of the "yoke of the Law." But the Law was never a burden to the faithful Jew; it was a light in his darkness, a sure refuge in the battles of life; it was life itself. In

the days when reading was a rare accomplishment and writing an art known only to the few, the humblest Jew could read his own Holy Tongue, carried with him through all these centuries from far-off Palestine. Many of the Jews felt they had no need for the New Learning of the gentiles. To them the man who knew the Law was the man who knows all things, since the Law makes everything clear to him who studies it. In the dingy schools of the musty Ghettos, the despised Sons of Israel bent over their Talmud, studied the laws and the sayings of the fathers, and felt themselves a chosen and a happy people.

The greatest of these schools were in Germany and Poland. The Jews had been kindly received in Poland by the early kings, who needed their business ability to help build up the country. Later, many Jewish exiles from Germany sought a home in Poland, where they formed a separate community, making and executing their own laws. Unfortunately, as the power of the Polish kings lessened, the power of the independent noblemen increased. The Jews were forced to leave the cities, where they were persecuted both by the Catholic priests and by the citizens, jealous of their success as traders. They scattered to the country districts and sought the protection of the powerful noblemen, who considered them as no more than the many serfs on their vast estates. But these noblemen, although they never failed to degrade and humiliate the Jews, protected them and allowed them to live their lives in peace.

In 1648 there was a revolt of the downtrodden peasants under the leadership of Chmielnicki. The Tartars and the Cossacks joined him in his barbarous raids against the oppressive nobles, and the Jews suffered with their masters. To this day the Jews of Poland and Ukraine remember the horrors of the Chmielnicki massacres. Countless Jews

were tortured to death; others were sold into slavery; many fled to Germany. Those who remained in Poland faced degrading laws and poverty. But the Jewish schools of Poland stood fast.

6. The Jewish Schools Again. Very young children were sent to the Cheder, which means a room, as these primary schools were often held in a room in the teacher's home. Poor children and orphans were educated at public expense in the Talmud Torah, a community school in which, like the Cheder, classes lasted all day. Even children who were backward in their studies were given a certain amount of instruction in the Bible before they dropped out of school to be apprenticed to some trade. The others continued their studies in the Yeshiboth, or colleges. Students who came from out of town, and were too poor to support themselves, were given free meals in the homes of pious Jews, who considered it a privilege to support Jewish scholars. Even Jews who had gone into business kept up their interest in those studies, which now are pursued only by rabbis and Jewish scholars. It was said that there was no Jewish home in Poland in which the Torah was not studied.

There were two ways of studying Jewish law in those days. One was by means of Pilpul, which means to dispute, or, as we often say, to split hairs. This method was one wherein the laws of the Talmud were studied from every angle, dividing each point and then dividing the many points of each argument over and over again. Of course, some Jews felt that to carry on endless debates from morning until night, often on unimportant subjects, was quite useless and had little to do with real knowledge. But this keen discussion did much to sharpen Jewish minds, which otherwise would have grown rusty or dangerously restless in

the stagnant air of the Ghetto.

The other method of studying the Jewish laws was by the legal way of simplifying and reducing the many confusing points which have been gathered together since the day the Mishna was concluded. The Code of Maimonides, for example, did much to shorten and make clearer the Jewish laws which he collected and classified. Then in 1572 Joseph Caro prepared the shortest of these codes; he called it the *Shulchan Aruch*, which means the prepared table. That is just what the *Shulchan Aruch* is—an arrangement of the Jewish laws from earliest days, spread out, like a meal on a table, in a manner so clear and simple that anybody who reads them can understand their meaning. This *Shulchan Aruch*, which was compiled in Palestine, still is the final authority for all the strictly orthodox Jews in our own day.

7. **Elijah, the Vilna Gaon.** Before we leave the schools of Poland, where the study of the Law was carried on with such love and devotion, we must meet the greatest authority of the period on the Torah, Elijah Gaon. He was born in Vilna in the year 1720 and is usually called the "Vilna Gaon," because the people of his day felt that he was bringing back the greatness of the Gaonim of Babylonia. By the time he was ten years old his skill in Talmudic debates astonished the rabbis. Although Elijah Gaon knew some science, his chief study was the Talmud. To the Talmud he devoted his life, giving up all society and ordinary interests, grudging the time he was forced to sleep, since he hated to leave his studies even for a few hours. Like the early Christian saints and the pious rabbis of old, he ate little, sleeping only two hours a day, giving his entire life to the service of his people.

One story tells that for three days he refused to eat and

was too worried to enjoy his scant measure of sleep because he could not work out certain passages in the Talmud to his satisfaction. Several pupils joined him, and together they struggled with the difficult portion, until at last they discovered its meaning; then only did Elijah leave his books and partake of food. The simple meal became a feast, as the sage and his disciples rejoiced over their triumph.

Because of this master's knowledge of the Talmud, there was no necessity for him to follow the method of Pilpul; he was always able to quote another section in order to prove a disputed point. He not only knew the Law but practised it. Elijah Gaon was a strict ritualist and tried to obey literally even the least of the many Jewish laws. This was one of the reasons why he opposed the Chassidim so bitterly. For while Elijah, the Vilna Gaon, and the rabbis who followed his teachings, believed that the Law is the core of Judaism, the Chassidim, of whom we shall soon read, often disregarded many of the Jewish laws, and brought entirely new ideas and customs into Ghetto thought and life.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the Ghetto? Why were the Jews kept in Ghettos? Are there any Ghettos today, in cities such as New York?
2. Tell about the new Jewish settlements in various countries.
3. How did the Renaissance and the Reformation affect the Jews?
4. What was the importance of the Jewish Law? Why was it the main study of the Jews in the Ghetto period?
5. Describe the Jewish schools of this period.
6. Name one great Talmudic scholar and tell about his life and work.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. A class project on the new settlements of this period, tracing them on the map as the Jews wandered from land to land, having different pupils report on the various new Jewish centers.

2. The Reformation and the Jews, especially with regard to Luther.
3. What were the methods of studying the Jewish law? In what way are these similar or different from the methods of studying law in the United States? We must understand Jewish law as simply one kind of law, that adopted by the Jewish people; not as a unique thing in the world.
4. The Shulchan Aruch; a study of the book and why it was so important.
5. Study some important Ghetto of Europe. This can be made a class project by dividing up the Ghettos among different students, and thus covering the main ones. See especially the Jewish Encyclopedia, articles on Rome, Venice, Prague, Frankfort, etc., and D. Philipson: Old European Jewries.
6. How the Jews came to Poland, their settlement, development, self-government in that country, their decline under Polish rule.
7. The restrictive laws against the Jews; study such items as occupations, residence, taxes, oaths, marriages, badges, etc.
8. Read and discuss "The Mathmid" by Bialik (Raskin's Anthology).

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THE GREAT EPOCHS OF JEWISH HISTORY



See how the **UPWARD STROKES** mark the great constructive work of the Jewish People.

The **DOWNWARD STROKES** mark the periods of outward persecution when the Jews withdrew into themselves.

XI.

THE WALLS OF THE GHETTO BEGIN TO CRUMBLE

1. **Two Sides of Ghetto Thought.** The Jews of the Ghetto, of whom we studied in our last chapter, present two different pictures. In one we see students of the Law, who followed it in every detail, and raised a wall as strong as that of the Ghetto itself between them and the outside world. This study of the Law, as we have seen, kept the Jews mentally alive during the dark and narrow Ghetto age.

But at the same time, many Ghetto Jews found a refuge, not in the practical decisions of their Legal Codes, but in the unreal world of mysticism. In this second picture of the Jews of the Ghetto age we find great numbers of men forgetting their persecutions in the study of the Kabbalah. Kabbalah, as you have already learned, was that philosophy that sought to bridge the real world about us with the unseen; it was an attempt to unite the soul of man with God. These Jews who studied the mysteries of life and the hereafter, by means of fasting and prayer and even magic rites, were also able to survive the terrible, long-drawn-out agonies of the dark ages. Like their brethren who lost themselves in the "Sea of Talmud," they were able to forget their troubles. But they went a step further than those who studied only the Law. These students of the Kabbalah not only believed in the coming of the Messiah and the redemption

of Israel, as all Jews had believed since the fall of Jerusalem, but also that the Messiah and the Messianic age were actually at hand.

The Jews in these two pictures were able, then, to build up a world of their own, in which they could live during the Ghetto period. Later on, we will look upon a third picture—Jewish thinkers who not only were able to think and to live in the Ghetto, but who actually broke chinks in the walls to allow the light of reason and freedom from the world outside to enter.

In the schools of Poland we have already seen our picture of greyheaded rabbis, beardless youths and little boys, who had left their mothers' laps for the first time, swaying above the long desks in their study of the Law. But an equally important picture in this chapter of the Story of the Jew is that of the mystics, entranced by the visions and wonder tales in the Zohar, dissolving the clear Law in a fog of yearning and magic.

2. Joseph Caro, Who United the Law and Mysticism. The study of the Kabbalah, as we have already learned, came down to the Jew from very early times. The Zohar, it was said, was actually the work of Simeon ben Yochai, who was miraculously kept alive during the later Roman persecutions. Now in the sixteenth century this mysticism of the Jew flowered in the lives and teachings of Joseph Caro and Isaac Luria. It is interesting to note that Joseph Caro, who was born in Spain about the time of the great expulsion, is known chiefly as a legal writer and as the codifier of the Shulchan Aruch, of which we read in our last chapter. But Joseph Caro, unlike a great many strict observers of the Talmudic laws, was also deeply interested in the Kabbalah. His family, after many painful wanderings from Spain, reached Turkey, where Joseph finally became

the head of a Talmudical college. Later he joined the fast-growing group of Jewish scholars who had settled in Palestine. In Safed, "the desire of all lands," as Caro called it, he became the head of a company of famous scholars and the first of the learned Jews of all lands in his own time.

But in spite of his clear, legal mind, Caro's whole soul was caught in the dreamy, mysterious tangles which the Kabbalah wove about its followers. He really believed that the Mishna, which he had loved and studied all his life, took the form of his Guardian Angel, who constantly spoke to him, correcting, advising, always urging him to lead even a purer and a more saintly life.

3. Isaac Luria, the Wonder-worker. Isaac Luria, leader of the next generation, although born in Jerusalem in 1534, was a descendant of Jews exiled from Germany. A legend tells how Luria, who even at an early age was a notable Talmudic scholar, first became interested in the Zohar and the vast field of the Kabbalah. One day he noticed a stranger in the synagogue. Luria, glancing at the book the stranger was reading during the services, was astonished to see that it contained mysteries of the Jewish religion of which he, with all his learning, had never heard. He questioned the newcomer, who confessed that he was a Marrano, and did not understand Hebrew, but he pretended to read his prayers from this strange volume so that he need not be ashamed before his more learned brethren.

Luria obtained the puzzling book, which proved to be the Zohar. He studied it for eight years, living alone for six days of each week, fasting and praying; he joined his family only on the Sabbath. It is even said that the Prophet Elijah himself taught Luria the deeper mysteries of Kabbalah. At last, Luria, who now lived in Egypt, received a command

from heaven to journey to Palestine, and joined the company of mystics at Safed. Here he became known as "the Divine Kabbalist," and "the Lion," his disciples taking the name of "the Lion's welps."

These mystics lived a life which reminds us of the community of the Essenes, those simple Jewish mystics of the days of Jesus. They spent much time in prayer and meditation, often losing all sense of this world as they felt themselves captivated by the glories of the world to come. They felt that they actually saw God Himself and the courts of Paradise. They fasted often, denying themselves any comfort beyond the barest necessities of life. But the Sabbath was always a joyful festival. On Friday evening, clad in fresh white robes, they would walk through the fields of Safed, singing Psalms as they invited the Sabbath Bride to hasten to the home of her beloved.

4. **The Coming of the Messiah.** Not only in Safed, but in every Ghetto of Europe, Jews forgot the troubles of this world in their visions of the hereafter. Whenever some new, bitterly cruel law crashed down upon them, or another massacre filled their narrow streets with the bodies of dead and dying, they turned to their Kabbalah for assurance that these bloody times would surely pass away. All through the centuries of oppression every Jew had prayed daily for the coming of the Messiah. But these mystics tried to fix the exact time of his coming by certain calculations, juggling of figures and the study of some great disaster as an earthquake, or pestilence. We know how in the days that preceded Jesus, the greater part of Jewry turned its eyes to now this, and now that rebel leader or mystic preacher, who, the people hoped, would be their deliverer from Rome. Again in the days of Akiba it seemed that Bar Kochba would become the true champion of enslaved Israel.

In the period that we are now studying, such clear thinkers and practical statesmen as Manasseh among the Jews, and Cromwell, the Puritan leader, seriously juggled figures, which meant to the former the beginning of better times for the Jewish people, and to the latter and other Christian mystics, the end of the world. Whenever their oppressions grew the Jews longed all the more for their Messiah; an actual belief in his speedy coming seemed to spring up during the periods set by fantastic calculations as the appointed time.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, these sorely persecuted Ghetto Jews began to stir restlessly in their prison houses. The Kabalists, who lived in a world of dreams and miracles, were able to prove to their own satisfaction that the time for the Messiah to come forth and rescue Israel had arrived. There had been many of these False Messiahs. We can mention only a few of them, either imposters, or self-deceived patriots, who were caught in the wave of mystic hope that surged about them and actually believed that they had been divinely chosen to save their people.

As early as 1160 we find David Alroy, rebel against the Sultan of Persia, reputed master of the art of magic; later came David Reubeni, the Arab adventurer, who was probably burned at the stake by the Inquisition, as well as his mad disciple, Solomon Molko; Shabbatai Zevi, the Turkish Messiah, who promised a speedy return to Palestine, in the year 1648 which had been proclaimed by the Kabalists the date for the redemption of Zion; Jacob Frank, founder of a half-Christian sect in Poland. Strange, brilliant figures, flashing like comets against the blackness of the Ghetto night before they disappeared in the darkness of despair and disappointment!

5. The Turkish Messiah. By far the most picturesque and important of all these Messianic pretenders was Shabbatai Zevi (the "Turkish Messiah"), the descendant of a Spanish

family, who was born in Smyrna in 1626. The growth of his brief but wide-spread power, his strange marriage and his downfall, reads more like a fairy tale than sober history. Even in his youth this man who was to bring such mad hopes and such black despair to Israel, gave promise of an unusual career. He led a life of the severest self-denial, bathing in the icy waters all winter, fasting, devoting day and night to the study of the mysteries of the Kabbalah. Gradually a group of disciples gathered about him to listen reverently as he explained the mysteries. Perhaps they were struck not only by his wisdom, which seemed divine to them, but also by his strangely beautiful face and tall, majestic figure. When in the year 1648, the date the Kabbalists believed had been set for the redemption of Israel, he dared to pronounce the forbidden Name of God, these half-mad mystics were ready to proclaim him as the Messiah.

The rabbis of Smyrna, shocked at such daring, banished Shabbatai from his birthplace. When he went to Constantinople, and later to Salonica, the Jews, in spite of the objections of the rabbis, rushed to hail him as their Messiah. He went to Jerusalem, and the mystics, who had settled there to pray and wait for the deliverance of Israel, were almost mad with joy, for they believed that at last the ruined city of David would be restored. A beautiful half-mad girl, Sarah, whose parents had been killed in the awful massacres in Poland, came to Shabbatai, telling that her dead father had appeared to her and predicted that she would be the bride of the Messiah. Not only Shabbatai himself, but his many followers believed her story.

Their wedding, celebrated with the greatest pomp and extravagance, seemed to Jews all over Europe and Asia to mark the beginning of the Messianic reign. Smyrna, which had cast Shabbatai Zevi out as an impostor, now received him again. The ram's horn, sounded only on the great festivals, was

blown in the synagogue. Shabbatai, standing before the weeping, shouting, laughing congregation, proclaimed himself the Messiah, Prince of the House of David, sent by God Himself to redeem His long-suffering people.

Nothing ever proved more clearly how lost the unhappy Jews of the Ghetto were in dreams and visions, than the welcome they gave their false Messiah. Gluckel of Hamelin, whose simply written life story gives such a clear picture of her times, tells how her father-in-law, a sensible business man, deserted his home and all his possessions, and bought food and clothes that he might be ready at any moment for the Return to Palestine. In some places, the entire Jewish population prepared to follow the Messiah as soon as he should send for them. In London, Jews bet large sums of money that within two years Shabbatai Zevi would be crowned King of Jerusalem. Dignified rabbis and leading scholars danced in the streets with the children or followed Shabbatai in joyful processions. It seemed to everyone that the dream of the long, hard exile had at last come true.

But the dream suddenly ended. When Shabbatai Zevi went to Turkey again, he was thrown into prison. Perhaps the Sultan had heard the prophecy of one of Zevi's disciples that this Messiah would be the king of the whole world, and did not wish to have his Jewish subjects rebel against him. Knowing that if he killed Shabbatai, the Jews would believe their leader a martyr and still be under his influence, the Sultan promised to spare the Turkish Messiah's life if he would but adopt the religion of the Turks and turn Mohammedan. Shabbatai did not wish to die a martyr's death. Whether he really believed in his Messiahship we will never know. But we do know that in order to save his life, he outwardly gave up Judaism and lived the rest of his life as a Mohammedan.

For a long time his followers could not believe the dreadful

truth. Their Messiah, who was to have saved all Israel, was not only a poor, weak mortal like themselves; he had even turned traitor to the faith of his fathers! Disturbed by the upheaval of Shabbatai's passing, many mystics turned to such leaders as Jacob Frank, who also promised them deliverance. But the greater part of the Jewish people, suffering behind the Ghetto walls, fell back into a despairing darkness, even darker than before.

6. The New Belief of the Chassidim. But the mystic, who lives in a world of dreams and wonders, does not remain unhappy very long. While the more practical Jews found escape from their misery in a return to their studies under the leadership of such scholars as Elijah Gaon, the mystics lost themselves in a new movement called Chassidism.

The founder of Chassidism, so runs the legend, was named Israel, because before his birth an angel informed his parents, who had long prayed for a child, that their son would be a light and a blessing to all Israel. Another story tells that when Satan, in the form of a werewolf, threatened some Jewish school children, young Israel put the monster to flight. Born in Poland in 1698, Israel, instead of teaching the wisdom of the schools about him, told his disciples that knowledge of the Torah was far less important than knowledge of God Himself. He explained that it was of less value to unravel a difficult portion of the Talmud than to feel oneself close to God. This bold rebel against the rabbis actually taught that obeying all the Jewish laws was not as important as enjoying God and serving Him with songs and happy dancing. Naturally the rabbis and scholars opposed such teaching, but many of the common people were glad to forget their sorrows in such a joyous, carefree religion that demanded neither knowledge nor study.

Israel was a true mystic. One story tells how his disciples wondered to see the great man staring with the crowd at a tightrope walker performing above a river in a little Polish town. But the spectacle had a deep meaning for the master. "See how that man, by controlling his body, is able to span the gap between one bank of this river and the other! In the same way, he who can control his spirit will be able to bridge the chasm from this life to the world to come!" In this answer he summed up the hope of the Chassidim; to reach from this earth into a world no man has ever seen, but toward which every mystic strives.

He was called the Baal Shem Tov, Master of the Good Name, since it was believed that he could perform many miracles by using the Good Name, the Name of God, forbidden to lesser men. It was said that he could heal the sick and bring light to the blind. His followers were named Chassidim, the saints or pious ones, for they believed that there was more piety in their gay singing and feasting than in the studies of the rabbis. The Baal Shem Tov, from the stories that have come down to us, seems to have been a truly religious soul, explaining to the simple, unlearned people the truths they were not ready to learn from the teachers of the Talmud. Many of the Wonder Rabbis, who followed him, and were also said to perform wonders and miracles, were equally honest and loving and well-meaning.

Unfortunately, there were also many false leaders, whose only ambition was to see how many rich offerings they could exact from their disciples. But in spite of the many unworthy leaders, the sect of the Chassidim grew and prospered. Even today in eastern Europe, there are many Jewish communities, each with its own Wonder Rabbi, that follow the mystic religion of joy preached to them by Baal Shem Tov so long ago.

7. The Men of Reason. We have seen that the Talmudists made the Ghetto livable for themselves through their studies, while the Kabalists and the Chassidim built a new world out of their dreams. But now, toward the end of the Ghetto period, we find a new group of men, who little by little, and stone by stone, broke down the Ghetto walls and allowed the light of the world to come in.

These men were called rationalists. They believed in answering all the questions that troubled them, through their own reason. They were not like the Talmudists, who were guided by what their fathers had thought and written before them; nor like the Kabalists and the Chassidim, often carried away by their day-dreams. We will note only three of these rationalists, all of them lovers of their people, but ready to change Judaism in accordance with their own reason.

In an earlier chapter we saw how Holland welcomed the Jews of Spain and allowed them full religious freedom. These Spanish Jews quickly grew in wealth and power; they opened schools, and soon their rabbis were among the leading Jewish scholars of their time. Later on, Jewish exiles from Germany and Poland enlarged the Dutch community.

Among the Jews who had escaped the clutches of the Inquisition was an earnest young man named Uriel Da Costa. While living in Portugal, he had been a Marrano. Drawn to Judaism, he fled from the Inquisition with his family to Amsterdam, that he might openly practise the religion of his ancestors. Da Costa was not satisfied with the religion to which he had returned. He had expected to find a Judaism as simple as he had found it in the pages of the Bible. He criticised the Dutch Jews because they burdened themselves with so many religious rites, which he considered unnecessary.

But these Jews who had suffered so much for their faith in Spain and Germany and Poland were angry at his criticism. When Da Costa refused to be silent, they put him under the ban. It was a dreadful thing to be put under the ban by the rabbis; it was like being buried alive, for it meant that no Jew, not even his nearest relative, was allowed to even as much as speak to him.

This cruel punishment, which the Jews had learned from their cruel, priestly masters in Spain, instead of making Da Costa beg forgiveness, only drove him further away from Judaism. In the books he now wrote in his loneliness, he attacked the religion he had once loved so dearly. But he still longed to be with his people; twice he returned to the synagogue, and twice he rebelled against its leaders. Doubting the sincerity of his return, the rabbis ordered him to be publicly scourged, another Catholic means of penance. Da Costa submitted to his punishment, but his proud spirit was broken. He shut himself up in his house, vowing never to mingle with Jews again. The unhappy seeker after truth kept his pledge; lonely and ashamed, he put an end to his wretched life by shooting himself.

Neither the life nor the writings of this unhappy outcast are of great importance to present day Judaism. Today we remember Uriel Da Costa chiefly as the forerunner of the greatest of Jewish rebels, Spinoza.

8. Spinoza, World Thinker. Baruch Spinoza, also the son of Spanish Jews, was born in Amsterdam in 1632. He received an excellent Hebrew education, having Manasseh ben Israel as one of his teachers. After studying Spanish Jewish writers like Ibn Ezra and Maimonides, Spinoza began to think for himself. He studied the philosophers of other religions and nations. Soon his conception of God

and the afterlife grew to be very different from the ideas of the rabbis of Holland. They begged him to be silent, not only for the sake of Judaism, but because they feared that his attacks on the Bible would offend their Christian neighbors, who had granted them a refuge.

Spinoza refused to be silent. He was too honest to accept the money bribes offered him to keep his dangerous thoughts to himself. He was too brave to be frightened into silence when he was threatened with the ban, under which Uriel Da Costa had suffered. At last, the rabbis cut him off from his people. From the age of twenty-five until the day of his death, Spinoza never again spoke to a Jew.

He found work which would not take too much time from his studies and writing, the grinding of lenses for spectacles. A careful worker in all things, his lenses won as much praise from the makers of spectacles in Amsterdam, as his books among the scholars. He spent his free hours writing those books, which have placed him among the greatest philosophers of all peoples and all times. The best known of these works is his "Ethics," in which he lays down his rules for a good and happy life. His "Theologico-Political Treatise" was another important work; in it Spinoza begged for the freedom of religious thought, which was so rarely granted by any of the religions of his day. These writings placed the simple, modest maker of lenses among the world philosophers. Today they are still read and admired by all students of philosophy.

But greater even than Spinoza's writing was the example of his life. He showed no bitterness toward his people, who had so sorely misunderstood him; he forgave his sister, who had deeply wronged him. When he was offered a teaching position in the great University of Heidelberg, he refused; like the rabbis of old, he preferred to labor with his hands, free to teach the truth as he saw it. The rabbis of Talmudic

times had said: "The righteous of all peoples have a share in the world to come." Spinoza was just as tolerant; when a simple Christian woman asked him which religion was the best, he answered her: "All religions are good that lead one to a good life." Although in many of his teachings he differed from the Jewish fathers, Baruch Spinoza, in his love for the truth, his tolerance and his devoted life, was as Jewish as any of the great teachers in Israel. Like them he was willing to suffer hardships and misunderstanding to bring light and freedom to the mind of man.

9. Moses Mendelssohn, Jewish Leader Out of the Ghetto. The third son of this period, who tried to bring the light of reason into the dark and twisted paths of the Ghetto, was Moses Mendelssohn. He was born in Dessau, a century after Spinoza. His father was a poor German scribe, who copied the scrolls of the Law. Moses was a stunted hunchback; but his mind was as quick and as agile as his body was weak and crippled. When he was only fourteen he left his father's house and tramped to Berlin in search of his old teacher, Rabbi Frankel. This rabbi had taught the clever child, not only the Bible and Talmud, but also the works of Maimonides, who was soon to influence the crippled boy's own writings.

In Berlin, the rabbi found work for Moses, copying scrolls. He also persuaded a generous Jew to give the homeless youngster two meals a week and a garret to sleep in. Best of all, Rabbi Frankel continued to teach the eager young student, so that though Moses often went to bed hungry, his mind was always well fed. Soon he became dissatisfied with only Jewish learning; he began to study mathematics and Latin; later he took lessons in French and German. Even when he was kept very busy, first as a private teacher, and later as a bookkeeper, he found time to study. He mastered English and

Greek and mathematics; he became a very prominent philosopher and writer.

Mendelssohn was greedy for learning, not only for himself, but for his people. Most of the Jews in the Germany of his day suffered from the narrowness of the Ghetto. Life behind the dark walls had made them superstitious and distrustful; they had learned to hate not only the persecuting Christians, but the learning and the language of their enemies.

Mendelssohn realized that the time had now come for the Jews to leave the Ghetto. Even before the prison walls fell, he urged his people to prepare themselves for freedom. The Ghetto Jews spoke Yiddish, based on the old German language which the Jews had taken with them to Poland so long ago. Mendelssohn felt that they should fit themselves for German citizenship by speaking pure German and translated portions of the Bible into German for them. This Bible was printed in Hebrew letters; to it Mendelssohn added the commentaries of such writers as Rashi and Nachmanides, rewritten in simple Hebrew. In this way he taught German to many Jews who knew only Yiddish; at the same time he encouraged others to write in Hebrew.

Mendelssohn also helped to lead the German Jews from their Ghetto by opening a Jewish school in Berlin. In this school were taught not only the Torah and Talmud, but modern languages and even trades, though at that time many professions were still closed to the Jew. Best of all, in his "Jerusalem" and many other writings, he pleaded that the Jew was worthy of equal rights with all other people and should receive them.

It is hard to realize how much this one man, who began life as a poor crippled Jewish boy, did for his people. His home, where his beautiful wife lit the Sabbath candles every Friday

night, was the center of the most learned men and women of Berlin, both Jewish and Christian. Many gentiles who had never known an educated Jew before were led by Mendelssohn's learning and dignity to believe that every Jew should have the right to study and to improve himself. No wonder that the great German poet Lessing, one of Mendelssohn's best friends, used the hunchbacked philosopher for the hero of his play, "Nathan the Wise." In this drama, Nathan the Jew teaches that all religions are worthy if their followers obey their precepts. It was the lesson that Mendelssohn had taught by his own faithful, industrious life.

Uriel Da Costa and Baruch Spinoza, in seeking light and freedom, were driven away by their people. But Moses Mendelssohn was more fortunate. To the end of his days he was a devoted Jew, a loyal son of Israel, accepted by many of the dwellers of the Ghetto, as they waited for the world to grant them freedom.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What kind of thought strengthened Jewish life in the Ghetto and why?
2. What type made an escape from the Ghetto spirit? Explain.
3. Tell about two great mystics of this period.
4. Why did the Jews expect a Messiah?
5. Describe the life of one of the False Messiahs.
6. Tell about the Chassidim; who was their founder?
7. What is a rationalist? Give an example.
8. Give the life of Baruch Spinoza.
9. What did Moses Mendelssohn accomplish?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Legends of Isaac Luria, Baal Shem Tov, or some other wonder-worker.
2. The life of one of the false Messiahs other than Shabbatai Zevi.

3. Read in the "Dreamers of the Ghetto," by Israel Zangwill, one of the following sketches, and report on it: Uriel Acosta; The Turkish Messiah; The Maker of Lenses; The Master of the Name; Maimon the Fool and Nathan the Wise.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

Bildersee: Chap. 19, 20, 21, 23, 24.

Harris: Modern Jewish History, chap. 2, 4, 5.

A. S. Isaacs: Step by Step, a story of the life of Moses Mendelssohn.

E. E. Levinger: In Many Lands (The Vision that Passed).

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

Margolis and Marx: Chap. 66, 69, 75, 77.

Graetz: Vol. V, chap. 3, 4, 8, 9, 10.

Dubnow: History, vol. III, chap. 10.

Lessing: Nathan the Wise, the beautiful parable of the Three Rings.

XII.

FREEDOM BEGINS FOR THE JEW

1. The Modern Idea of Freedom. We have seen how, in the world of fixed positions and fixed duties, throughout the Middle Ages, nobody had any freedom in the modern sense of the word. We have also noticed that the Jews being everywhere aliens, had more duties and more penalties imposed upon them than upon anybody else; they had no right to choose their own residence or occupation, or even to arrange their own marriages. How does it happen that today, in America and most of Europe, everybody is a citizen, with the power to vote, to hold property and to live his own life? And how did it ever come about that the Jews hold these rights, together with their neighbors of other religions?

The answer to this question is the meaning of modern life. During the Renaissance and the Reformation, ideas of human liberty grew throughout Christian Europe. People were given some right to choose their own religion, as a matter of their own conscience; in some countries, such as England, a Parliament grew up to speak for them in the government. Many men were studying science and history and began to doubt the divine right of kings, to doubt the old idea that each person belonged to his overlord. Instead, they began to think of nations, each a land with its own citizens and its own government as we have today. Every person living in any land, unless there was some reason against it, was naturally a citizen of that country.

In the case of Jews there were reasons against granting them liberties; they did not accept the Christian religion, many people hated them, and besides, they had always been oppressed. But little by little freedom of thought grew, and human rights grew, until the Jews shared at last in the happiness and freedom of mankind outside of the Ghetto walls.

At first, certain broad-minded Christians spoke of tolerance for the Jews, told about their good qualities, or defended them against slanders. Later on, this became a part of the general movement for freedom. Finally, as this freedom was slowly won by the mass of the citizens of various countries, the Jews were gradually included.

In Germany, where there were important Jewish communities living within their medieval Ghettos, Moses Mendelssohn had made a great impression on the liberal Christians. Lessing, whose plays and books were the greatest of that day, became the outspoken champion of human rights for the Jews. This was a dangerous and unpopular thing to do; but he gained a few supporters and led the way for freedom many years later. In France, Montesquieu, a leading writer on government, took the same stand.

Here and there a statesman showed a little liberalism toward the oppressed people of the Ghetto. The very first action by a ruling monarch to ease their lot was taken by the kindhearted Emperor Joseph II of Austria. His Patent of Tolerance (1782) did not place the Jews on an equal footing with the other citizens of Austria; for one thing the Jews were not yet allowed to live where they chose, nor were they permitted to call themselves masters of a trade. But they were allowed to learn any trade they pleased, to engage in commerce on a large scale and to open factories. Jewish

students were admitted to public schools and colleges. Certain hateful laws, among them the one forcing a special dress upon the Jews, were abolished.

In France a few minor restrictions against the Jew were removed. Here the great French statesman, Mirabeau, wrote and spoke and fought in behalf of the Jews. More freedom for the world, more humanity toward the Jews—some day, these liberals believed, even the hated sons of Israel might share in the light of the modern world.

The shining example for Europe came from the little republic west of the Atlantic. In Chapter XIV we shall study just how this came about; how the Declaration of Independence made no laws against the Jews; how the Constitution included them as full citizens of the new nation. No wonder this filled the liberals of Europe with hope and courage, that they too might establish a Republic, and that they, too, might share their freedom, when they won it, with the folk of the Ghetto.

2. The First Step—the French Revolution. These hopes led to the great struggle, the French Revolution, just a few years after American independence. This liberalism led also to the granting, in some countries, of freedom to the oppressed Jews, the poorest and weakest people of Europe.

In 1789 the French Assembly passed a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was largely adopted from the American Declaration and Constitution. This included the granting of freedom of worship for all people. But it took a long time to put this Declaration into practice, because there were many laws to be changed and many hard feelings and prejudices to be overcome. First the Jews of Southern France, who were of old Sephardic families and who had lived there for many generations, were made citizens, then the more nu-

merous Jews of Alsace, who were Germans in language and descent. In 1791 the Jews of all France were proclaimed full citizens, with all the rights of Frenchmen.

From that time on the French Revolution spread through Europe, carrying with it everywhere the beginnings of freedom for the Jews. To some lands the Revolution spread by the sword, and its laws were imposed by force. In other lands the ideas of the Revolution came through books, and were readily accepted by the more liberal part of the people. Most of the Jews were delighted with the chance to escape the old pains and penalties of being a Jew. Some of them followed the teachings of Moses Mendelssohn that they might combine patriotism and modern ideas with the true Jewish faith. Others were willing to give up being Jews altogether for the chance to be Prussians or Frenchmen or Dutchmen.

Only a few, chiefly among the older orthodox rabbis, objected to freedom. They preferred to remain good Jews, in the old fashioned way, even in the Ghetto, than to see their people lose some of the old loyalty to their faith in the new world outside the walls. We cannot blame these men when we see how hard it was for the Jews to change their ideas and their lives, to win respect and freedom, and at the same time not to give up all their precious possessions, their Torah, their faith in God, their brotherhood in the household of Israel. In the next chapter we shall see this inner struggle, and what the result was to be.

But the Republic in France changed into an Empire, and the great Napoleon became ruler of France and master of most of Europe. He changed the lives of the Jews of Europe as far east as the borders of Russia. Everywhere his armies came, the Ghetto walls were destroyed and the Jews came out into the world. Sometimes they were admitted into full citizenship, as in Holland; sometimes given only a few rights,

as in Prussia. But everywhere the feeling grew that the Jews were human beings, that they could be as good citizens as Christians, and that the Rights of Man included even the little people so long oppressed and misunderstood.

Napoleon assembled a Jewish Sanhedrin in France to revive the old Sanhedrin of the early days in Palestine. What he wanted was to make the Jews promise to be true Frenchmen and to obey the laws of the land instead of the ancient Jewish law. For the whole world now was thinking in terms of nations and of national laws; the Jews could no longer be a separate nation in dispersion, as they had been through all the Middle Ages.

This Sanhedrin, which met in Paris in 1807, was one of the oddest Jewish bodies in all our history. It convened at the invitation of a Christian Emperor, passed fine sounding resolutions of loyalty to France, and obligations to obey the law of the land. Its chief purpose was to impress the Christian world, that it might grant civic rights for the Jews. It was not a real Sanhedrin, of course, and Jews of other lands never accepted its decrees.

3. The Reaction After 1815. But Napoleon fell; all Europe turned against everything he had done. The three nations: Russia, Austria and Prussia controlled the world; they favored absolute monarchy and hated everything that spelt freedom for Jew or Christian. They believed in the theory of a Christian state, that all the people of a nation should belong to the same religion in order to be completely unified and wholly patriotic.

The Jews sent delegates to Vienna to present their claims before the peace conference. They showed how loyally they had fought for their own lands against Napoleon; how the Jews of Prussia had made sacrifices; how the Rothschild

family had loaned needed money to Great Britain. But the world was against Jewish emancipation, as it was against anything that reminded it of the Revolution, of Napoleon, or of freedom. The world turned back to the Middle Ages, and the Jews had to turn back, too. Again the Ghetto gates were locked at night. Again the Jews were excluded from this city and from that one, from villages and from farms. Again there came the laws against various trades, against education, for special Jewish taxes. Again we find the Ghetto in Rome, the mobs in Germany, the Inquisition in Spain—for a whole generation it seemed as if the breathing spell of freedom had been without meaning.

4. How Freedom Became a Reality. But reaction and military force could not rule forever. Once human beings had tasted of freedom they could not be kept away from it again. The liberal movement grew in every country of western Europe, for men had before their eyes the spectacle of the United States of America, and, in their memories, the brief hour when the Revolutionary armies marched across their own lands. We must remember that this liberal movement was not a Jewish matter, though all modern Jews turned toward it as their only hope. Most liberals were willing to grant even to the Jews those rights they wanted for themselves. The reactionaries, who denied general human rights, were even firmer in denying Jewish rights. So the Jews, in their own longing for emancipation, found themselves forced into the liberal camp.

Some of the Jews, indeed, had become fervent nationalists and patriots. They fought for Germany against Napoleon. Occasionally they even gave up the heritage of Judaism which their forefathers had preserved so heroically; they submitted themselves to baptism in their desire to be complete members of the Prussian nationality, the French, or some

other. But this remedy proved useless in improving their own lot; many of these also were forced into the liberal movement.

That is why the great dates of the growth of liberalism in Europe are the dates we must note in this story. First came the Revolution of 1830, when France and Belgium once more granted to the Jew—together with the rest of their citizens—the rights of Revolutionary days. Holland had never taken them away, and during this generation of reaction, had been the only oasis in Europe. Then the more important Revolution of 1848 brought freedom to Jews in Sweden, Denmark, Greece, some provinces of Italy, and the promise of it in Germany and Austria as well. Across western Europe the hope of freedom swept again like a prairie fire, burning down the old Ghetto gates and letting the Jews out into the fresh air of the modern world.

Not that it was perfect even then. In Italy Rome still had its Ghetto, for Rome was still ruled by the Popes and did not become a part of united Italy until 1870, when the Ghetto there was finally abolished. Austria took almost twenty years to complete the process of emancipation. Switzerland, with her federal government, did not pass the law of citizenship in all the cantons until 1873. Meanwhile, even Portugal and Spain had tried to atone for their acts of 1492 by inviting the Jews back to their lands and offering complete rights of citizenship to those few who responded to this call.

The two most interesting episodes in this whole story took place in Germany and England. We have seen how Germany was the leader of reaction after 1815. The Jews felt the full force of the old medieval laws and the added fury of the mob. Sometimes their leaders were lured away by promises of political advancement if they accepted Christianity. The liberals—Jews and Christians both—were forced into exile in France and England. This happened to Heinrich Heine, the

great poet and liberal, at the very time when another Jew, Adolph Cremieux, was a minister in more liberal France. It happened to Ludwig Boerne, a brilliant political writer, also a converted Jew and a fighting liberal. But it did not happen to the great advocate of Jewish emancipation, Gabriel Riesser, who kept his Jewish faith and yet was a leader of German liberals.

In the great year of 1848 Riesser was the vice-president of the German National Assembly, where he defended the claim of all Jews, both the modern reformers, among whom he numbered himself, and the orthodox, to equal rights as German citizens. This required more courage than we now realize, for this was a time when many Jews were ready to accept Christianity for the sake of becoming university professors or judges. But Riesser, although a lawyer and a candidate for such honors, was too loyal to forsake his own faith; he was too brave a fighter to surrender in the struggle.

The year 1848 marked the turning point in Germany. A number of Constitutions adopted by different German states included freedom for the Jews. They were not always enforced as soon as adopted, but this principle was accepted and gradually enforced everywhere. In 1870, when the German Empire was organized, there was no longer any question on the matter; all Germans were citizens, whatever their birth or faith. True, the Jews were not popular, and a new anti-Semitic movement began in Germany soon after this freedom had been won. But the Ghetto was no more; the Jews and their liberal friends had the law on their side at last.

5. The Jews Enter Parliament. Great Britain stands out, differing from every nation in Europe, the first to admit Jews to human rights, the very last to grant them complete political equality. The Jews never had a Ghetto in England

They were banished from the land through all the Middle Ages, and entered it gradually under modern conditions. But England was a nation with an Established Church, and with very strong prejudices against Catholics, Puritans and, naturally, Jews as well.

In the 1830's most of the laws against these dissenters were repealed, carrying the Jews along with the Christian denominations which did not belong to the Established Church. The House of Commons was willing to remove the last bar, the oath "on the true faith of a Christian," which barred the Jews from Parliament; but the House of Lords always defeated the bill. In England the Jews were fighting for public office, while in other lands they were still struggling for such liberties as the right to live wherever they wished, engage in any business, or marry when they pleased.

The outstanding advocate of Jewish rights at this time was the famous English author, Thomas Babington Macaulay, who made a number of eloquent speeches in their behalf in the House of Commons. He said on one occasion: "The English Jews are precisely what our government has made them. They are precisely what any sect, what any class of men, treated as they have been treated, would have been. If all the red-haired people in Europe had, during centuries, been outraged and oppressed, banished from this place, imprisoned in that, hanged, tortured, burned alive, if, when manners became milder, they had still been subject to debasing restrictions and exposed to vulgar insults, locked up in particular streets in some countries, pelted and ducked by the rabble in others, excluded everywhere from magistracies and honors, what would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair?"

Year after year, this bill was delayed. Queen Victoria was crowned, and she knighted Moses Montefiore. A Jew was elected Lord Mayor of London. Another Jew, Baron Lionel

de Rothschild, was elected to Parliament; but he could not take the oath of office. Finally, in 1858, the law was amended and he was given his seat in the House of Commons. Thirteen years later the same oath was abolished for the Universities, so that Jewish students could graduate. At last, in 1885, another Rothschild, made a Lord, took his seat in the House of Lords, and no distinction or office in the British Empire was left closed to an able Jew.

Before this time a Jew by birth, Benjamin Disraeli, had actually held the highest place in Great Britain, that of Prime Minister. He was born in 1804. His father came from an Italian Jewish family, but had no interest in Jewish matters, so that when Benjamin was twelve years old, he and the rest of the family were baptized as members of the Established Church. From that time on every career was open to him, and he tried to achieve them all. The little Jewish boy had dreamed of being a Lord, of becoming a great novelist, a hero, a leader of society, a Prime Minister. As he grew to manhood, he accomplished every one of these dreams. When he was twenty-one years old, his first novel, "Vivian Grey," was published; at once the fashionable people of London invited him to their parties and listened to his clever conversation. When he was thirty-three, he was elected to Parliament, after being defeated three different times. At forty-eight, he was a Minister; at sixty-one, Prime Minister; at seventy-four he dictated treaties, which defeated the great Bismark, Chancellor of Germany.

Disraeli left his mark on English public life. For almost half a century, he was the great rival of William E. Gladstone for the leadership of Great Britain; now one, now the other would rule. He was the leader of the conservative party, even though everyone knew of his Jewish birth. He proudly

defended in Parliament the Jewish people and their right to hold office. When he was too old for the actual management of government, he accepted a peerage and became Lord Beaconsfield. He was a close friend of Queen Victoria, who greatly admired his ability and accepted his advice. He obtained the Suez Canal for Great Britain, and had the Queen of England crowned as Empress of India.

His novels are still among the interesting stories of English life; a number of them have some striking things to say about the Jews, whom Disraeli always defended. Even today, his old party in England celebrates Primrose Day in his memory, and thousands of Englishmen wear his favorite primroses to honor this Jewish statesman.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the new idea of human freedom? How did it differ from the idea of the Middle Ages?
2. How did it apply to the Jew?
3. Tell what the French Revolution accomplished for the Jews. What was Napoleon's attitude toward the Jews?
4. Tell of the backward step for the Jews in Europe.
5. How did they finally gain freedom?
 - a. In France.
 - b. In Germany.
 - c. In Great Britain.
 - d. In Italy.
 - e. In Austria.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The idea of religious freedom and its growth. See Van Loon: Tolerance, for a good account of the growth of tolerance in modern times.
2. The struggle for human rights in Europe from 1789 to 1848. A good background for the Jewish struggle which was a part of the liberal movement of that period.

3. The life of Benjamin Disraeli; the most popular life is that by Maurois. Report on a novel by Disraeli.
4. The Rise of the House of Rothschild.
5. Read one of the speeches made by Macaulay in favor of Jewish rights; restate his arguments briefly in your own words.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

Harris: Modern Jewish History, chapter 9.

Joseph Jacobs: Jewish Contributions to Civilization, chap. 9.

Lewis Browne: That Man Heine.

Benjamin Disraeli: David Alroy; also, Tancred, which brings out the author's pride in his race.

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Margolis and Marx: Chap. 80-85, 88.

Graetz: Vol. V, chap. 11-14, 17-18.

Dubnow: History, vol. III, chap. 11.

Elbogen: History of the Jews, chap. 9.

Sachar: Factors in Modern Jewish History, a Syllabus, chap. 1-4.

Abbott: Israel in Europe, chap. 19, 20.

Court: Rise of the House of Rothschild.

XIII.

THE JEWS ENTER MODERN LIFE

1. What this New Life was Like. The breakdown of the Ghetto walls meant not merely political freedom. That was only one of the aims toward which Moses Mendelssohn had worked, and toward which the Jews strove during the century that followed his death. It meant also a spreading abroad, and a vastly larger number of Jewish communities. It meant new ideas for the Jews, both about themselves and about the world as a whole. It meant new movements in Jewish life, the reform of the schools and the synagogues, the writing of new kinds of books in various languages. When we trace these movements, in this chapter, we shall see how this alternate reaching out for freedom, and denial of it, meant sometimes increased desertion of Judaism, sometimes renewed loyalty to it.

The most striking fact of all is one which we could very easily overlook, the enormous increase of the Jewish population of the world in the nineteenth century. This was only a part of the immense growth in world population. The ancient and medieval world had been poor, afflicted with diseases and attacked by famines. The modern world brought a sudden increase in wealth, with prevention of starvation; it brought increased pity for the poor and sick, with more efforts to save their lives; it brought, last of all, greater knowledge of disease and its causes, and the saving of many lives. Even persecution, that ter-

rible cause of death among Jews, was not severe enough in modern times to keep down their numbers, as it had been before.

During most of this history, we have been dealing with very small numbers, a little Jewish nation of a few million in ancient Palestine, huddled communities of a few hundred or a few thousand souls through medieval Europe. In 1700 there were probably about 1,300,000 Jews in Europe; and not much over one and a half million in the whole world. But by 1840 there were over two million in Europe, and three million in the world. And in 1920, there were 15,000,000 Jews in the world as a whole, of whom 10,500,000 lived in Europe. This great increase in numbers makes for wider scattering, larger Jewish communities in various cities, and greater strength in any movement that Jews really engage in. In New York City are massed together 1,700,000 Jews, the largest Jewish community since the beginning of our history, and one-fourth of the people of that great metropolis.

2. What Mendelssohn Accomplished. It was Moses Mendelssohn who had prepared the Jews for entry into the modern world. His use of reason and his knowledge of the great world outside the Ghetto were an inspiration and example to his own friends and to the whole generation that followed. But the use of reason does not always bring the same results; the answer depends on the man who thinks and on the world in which he thinks. So the followers of Mendelssohn turned in many different ways. His legacy included reform of the schools, reform in the synagogues, advanced study of the science of Judaism, a whole movement of writers in Hebrew, and a number of writers on every subject in the various languages of Europe. It even

included a movement of doubt toward religion and of disloyalty toward the Jewish people.

The first effect was, naturally, in the field of education. Jews wanted to study the same subjects that Christians did, to be modern men and understand the world in which they lived. Jews opened modern schools to take the place of the old Hebrew schools; here the boys could learn German, geography, and history, as well as study Hebrew and the Bible. In this way Jews were fitted to enter the modern world, which Napoleon had opened to them. When Jews studied German, they began to speak and write in that language instead of Yiddish; they felt themselves as good Germans as their Christian neighbors. After the time of Mendelssohn we find a number of Jewish writers in modern languages on modern subjects.

The greatest of them all was Heinrich Heine, a writer of poetry so beautiful and touching that it is still read and sung not only by all who know German, but by others as well, for it has been translated into English and other languages. But Heine had been reared as a German and a modern, not as a Jew. When he found it impossible to become a lawyer or a university professor, he took a decisive step by becoming a Christian. At the time he did this, Heine was not interested in the Jews, but only in modernism and in his own success. But his baptism did not bring him success, because he was a liberal and the German states were very bitter against the liberals after the downfall of Napoleon.

So Heine lived and wrote and fought as a bitter and disappointed man, who for half his life was forced to live in Paris by the reactionary German rulers. Toward the end of his days he deeply regretted his desertion of the Jewish people; he wrote most beautifully of the Princess Sabbath,

of the great singers of medieval Jewry, like Judah Halevi, and of the Bible itself. Heine is an especially important figure in our story, because he shows us so clearly the feelings of that whole generation, after the brief day of freedom in Europe had been followed by the night of reaction.

That generation loved freedom, but did not know its own religion or Jewish history. Mendelssohn had known these, and had managed to be a Jew and to win the respect of the world. But his children and many others of their time could not. They had their choice between returning to the Ghetto and desertion of the Jews. The orthodox rabbis really wanted to return, for the narrow Jewish life of the Ghetto protected Judaism. The ignorant and uncultured Jew was more at home in the Ghetto than in German-Christian circles. But the intellectuals had mingled on equality with the highest officials and most intelligent thinkers of the nation. They keenly felt the insult of being sent back to the Ghetto; at the same time they had practically no Jewish knowledge to strengthen them in bearing the burden of being Jews.

It is no wonder that there were wholesale conversions to Christianity on the part of Jewish intellectuals in the gloomy period of reaction between 1815 and 1848. It is more surprising that even the family of Mendelssohn yielded; that his daughters were baptized, and his grandson Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, the great musician, was brought up as a Christian and wrote sacred music for the Christian churches.

So, contradictory movements were begun by the followers of Mendelssohn, because of the different circumstances with which they were faced. They formed movements for a stronger Judaism, a more modern Judaism, and move-

ments away from Judaism in order to gain an easier entrance into the modern world. Still another movement was the revival of Hebrew writing as an instrument for modern ideas, the movement which later became known as Haskalah, or enlightenment. We shall discuss this in Chapter XV, for its most important phase occurred later on in Russia. But it is interesting to know that this also was begun by the friends and followers of Mendelssohn in Germany. The little hunchback of Berlin marked the turning point from the Ghetto to the modern world in ideas, just as Napoleon did in law.

3. The Modern Science of Judaism. But not all of Mendelssohn's work resulted in offshoots of these various kinds. Some of his followers carried it on as directly as possible, and one man, Leopold Zunz, did what the master himself would have appreciated most of all. He turned all the modern knowledge of history, of language, and of religion back upon Judaism itself; he invented what he himself called the "Science of Judaism." When Zunz was a young man, he organized a society for this purpose, which numbered young Heinrich Heine among its members; the society broke up, but Zunz kept doggedly on. During his life of over ninety years he studied and wrote about the history, the religion, the literature, the language of the Jews. He did this, not only because he was a student, but mainly because he was a Jew. He wanted the Jews themselves to realize the treasures of their own past and their own living present. He wanted to arouse respect among intelligent non-Jews by showing them what the Jews had really accomplished. His work aroused others to follow; among them were Heinrich Graetz, the historian, whose authoritative History of the Jews you ought to know, and Abraham Geiger, the leading thinker among the reform rabbis of Germany.

4. A Modern Form of the Jewish Religion. Still another result of the Mendelssohn era, though the German philosopher himself would have been much surprised at it, was the reform movement in the synagogue. When modern ideas touched every other part of life, some people began to adapt them to their religion. They were not at all like the mystics, who wanted to lose themselves in prayers and visions. Nor did they wish to accept without question the Torah as practically all Jews had done before them. They did not use their reason to reject Judaism like so many of the intellectuals nor to explain the Torah and Talmud like Elijah Gaon and his school. These modern thinkers wanted to reason out for themselves what part of the Jewish religion they should reject or revise, and what they should retain.

The reform movement in Judaism began in Germany among a number of laymen who wanted to be modern, but who did not wish to give up their Judaism. They were not rabbis nor Jewish scholars, but were educated men, school teachers and the like, who knew the world they wanted to enter far better than the Ghetto life from which they sprang. We have noticed that modern education reached the Jews at the very beginning of the Mendelssohn period for at least a few of their children. In these schools came the earliest reforms in the synagogue ritual such as the special service for the pupils. The first to make such changes was Israel Jacobson of Cassel, who opened the first reform synagogue in 1810 at Seesen, to be followed eight years later by the Hamburg Temple.

These early reformers wanted to make Judaism more understandable and more attractive to the modern young people of their day. They shortened the service, translated part of it into German, added a sermon in German (which

the people understood much better than Yiddish), introduced an organ and choir, and the ceremony of confirmation for both boys and girls, instead of the usual bar mitzvah for boys alone. Of course, in that time, after they had just been sent back to the Ghetto, they had a further object; they wanted to prove to the world that the Jews could be just as sensible, as well behaved, and as patriotic as anybody else. So they also began to drop from their services the prayers for the return to Palestine, to express their love for the land in which they lived and which they desired to serve as full citizens.

Reform in Judaism was not a rebellion against the control of a Church, nor a moral rebellion, like the Protestant Reformation. It was not the founding of a new religion or of a new church. It was just a new form of the old Judaism, a new explanation for the old facts. It was not, like Karaism a thousand years before, a denial of the Talmud, but it did emphasize the prophets and their ethical teaching above the legal parts of both the Bible and the Talmud. It did not deny all the forms and ceremonies of the Jewish religion, but it did change some of them and drop others that Judaism might be more appealing to modern Jews in a modern world.

Reform Judaism is based on the theory of growth, which became a part of the study of history just about that time. We have seen that there were many changes in the Jewish people and the Jewish religion during their long history. They wrote the Bible, the Talmud, the prayerbook; and everything they wrote became a part of their own life and influenced them in turn. So the reformers in Judaism felt that it was time for another change in their age-old religion, to adapt it again to the new world in which the Jews hoped to be citizens.

The great thinker of reform Judaism in Germany was Abraham Geiger, who was a rabbi in Breslau for twenty-five years during the middle part of the nineteenth century. He felt certain that the Jews were not a nation like other nations, and that their dispersion throughout the world was not a punishment upon them. He believed rather that the Jews were a religious people, whose dispersion was an act of Providence, so that they might carry out their mission to teach the religion of the prophets and the idea of One God to all the peoples of the earth. The forms of religion depended for their meaning on their spirit; the Sabbath, the laws of kosher food, and the prayers all had to express the feeling of the worshipper, or else be changed according to the new spirit of the newer age.

A Jew was a citizen only of the land in which he lived, not of Palestine; he had no Jewish nationality, but was a German (or Frenchman, or American) of the Jewish faith. The prayers for the restoration to Palestine and for the Messiah were therefore omitted from the reform prayer-book. But every passage that told of the brotherhood of man, or of the universal hope for the future, was emphasized. Instead of a Messiah, a descendant of David, to lead them back to the Land of Israel, the reformers hoped for a Messianic age, a time when all nations would join together in justice and in peace. Everywhere they looked for the universal rather than the national, the ethical rather than the ceremonial, the prophetic rather than the legal side of Judaism.

Reform Judaism made its greatest strides at first in Germany, then in the United States. But it became more or less important in every country where Jews were free, in England, Hungary and France. Only where modern thought did not reach, or where persecution forced the

Jews to redoubled loyalty and drove them into more intensive prayer, was there no place for reform. In Germany there were several important Conferences of rabbis in the 1840's, at which Rabbi Geiger was the leader. Here the various rabbis inclined towards reform came together to express their different ideas and work out a common platform.

5. The New Orthodoxy. Naturally, not all Jews were willing to accept reform Judaism, to change the laws or the prayers, and to break away from the customs of the fathers. The old Ghetto piety, with its unquestioning belief, its mystical longing, its study of the Torah had grown difficult to adhere to in a modern world. A Jew living in a free land, a follower of Moses Mendelssohn, had to study modern languages, history, philosophy and science, not Torah alone. But there were many who learned all these things, or at least some, and still remained loyal to the old Judaism. They called themselves orthodox, as against the reformers. Their leader was Samson Raphael Hirsch, rabbi in Frankfort.

Hirsch considered himself the defender of true Judaism against the reformers. He emphasized the importance of the Torah in Jewish life, and showed that the Jews could carry out the mission which God had given them only by obeying all His commandments. He wanted no changes in Jewish law or custom, but felt that intelligent Jews who kept every commandment of their religion deserved the respect of all the world. He believed that Judaism and the modern world could be well enough adjusted without making any important changes in Judaism, but merely by educating Jews in modern ideas and by explaining to non-Jews what Judaism really is.

He upheld the reformers in criticizing those who practised the Jewish law ignorantly and mechanically. But his remedy was not, like theirs, to substitute other laws or

other prayers, which could be followed with understanding. His theory was to demand that every Jew must know his Law and his faith so that he would be able to practise it with intelligence and with devotion. For his orthodoxy was modern. The Ghetto in the minds of the Jews was destroyed even before the Ghetto in the laws of the Christian nations.

6. The Jews Are Ready for the Modern World. A generation after the death of Moses Mendelssohn his work found its fulfillment. The Ghetto walls were broken down; the Jews no longer lived in a little world of their own, but in the great world with all modern men. General education had come to the Jews, in their own schools and in the various other schools and universities, to which they had won admittance.

The Jews had also turned to the study of their own glorious heritage, which they themselves were beginning to appreciate and to explain to their neighbors. Finally, both the reformers who made changes, and the orthodox who resisted them, were reshaping their religion, to live as loyal and active Jews in a modern world. Their Renaissance had come three hundred years after that of Christian Europe. But they went through it in a few brief years, leaping from the medieval to the modern world at once, while Christendom had taken over a hundred years to climb slowly from one to the other.

We shall see now how the same story was repeated in America, while eastern Europe, particularly Russia, remained long after in the older world of persecution, with its Jews huddled in the little world of Jewish life. By the time the Ghetto walls were finally down, the Jew was ready to step out as a citizen of his homeland, a member of the modern world.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How was modern life different from medieval life?
2. Discuss the increase in numbers of the Jews.
3. What lines of thought did Moses Mendelssohn start?
4. Trace each of them in its course in Germany after his death.
5. Why did the same causes send some people to increased study of Judaism, and others to desert it?
6. Give the purpose of the reform movement; give its stages of growth.
7. Describe the modern orthodoxy of Germany.
8. Show how the Jews differed at the end of this period from its beginning.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Reform Judaism.
2. Conservatism and modern orthodoxy.
3. Heinrich Heine (use Lewis Browne: *That Man Heine*, and translations of his poems by Louis Untermeyer).
4. Abraham Geiger.
5. Leopold Zunz—his life and work.
6. Jewish Salons in Germany and Austria; the movement toward apostacy.
7. Solomon Maimon as a type of Jew lost in the enlightenment period.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

- Harris: *Modern Jewish History*, chap. 7.
 Zangwill: *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, essays on Maimon the Fool and Nathan the Wise; *From a Mattress Grave* (Heine).

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

- Sachar: Chap. 6.
 Margolis and Marx: Chap. 83, 84, 89, 91.
 Graetz: Vol. V, chap. 9, 10, 15, 16.
 Dubnow: *Outline*, pp. 298-306.
 Elbogen. Pages 190-209.
 Fleg: *A Jewish Anthology*, pp. 267-77.
 David Philipson: *Reform Movement in Judaism*.
 Schechter: *Studies in Judaism*, vol. 1, essay on Nachman Krochmal; vol. 3, essays on Abraham Geiger; Leopold Zunz.

XIV.

HOW THE JEWS FOUND A HOME IN AMERICA

We are particularly interested in this chapter because we ourselves live in America, together with most of our relatives and friends. There are about four million American Jews today, fully one-fourth of all the Jews in the world. The Wandering Jew has found the New World in the long journey that has led us from Palestine to Babylon, from the Orient to Spain, from Spain to Germany, from Germany to Poland. Every refuge was closed; every home rejected him in the end; but each time a new home was prepared, not always an ideal one, but always a place where he might heal his bruises and live on.

So with the discovery of the New World, Jews were present from the very first moment; Jews stood beside Columbus, beside Washington, beside Lincoln. Jews from the earliest days, like the oppressed of every race and every creed, found their refuge in America. America offered them freedom from religious hatred and persecution, a chance to build homes and make a living for themselves and their families, a chance to live as Jews.

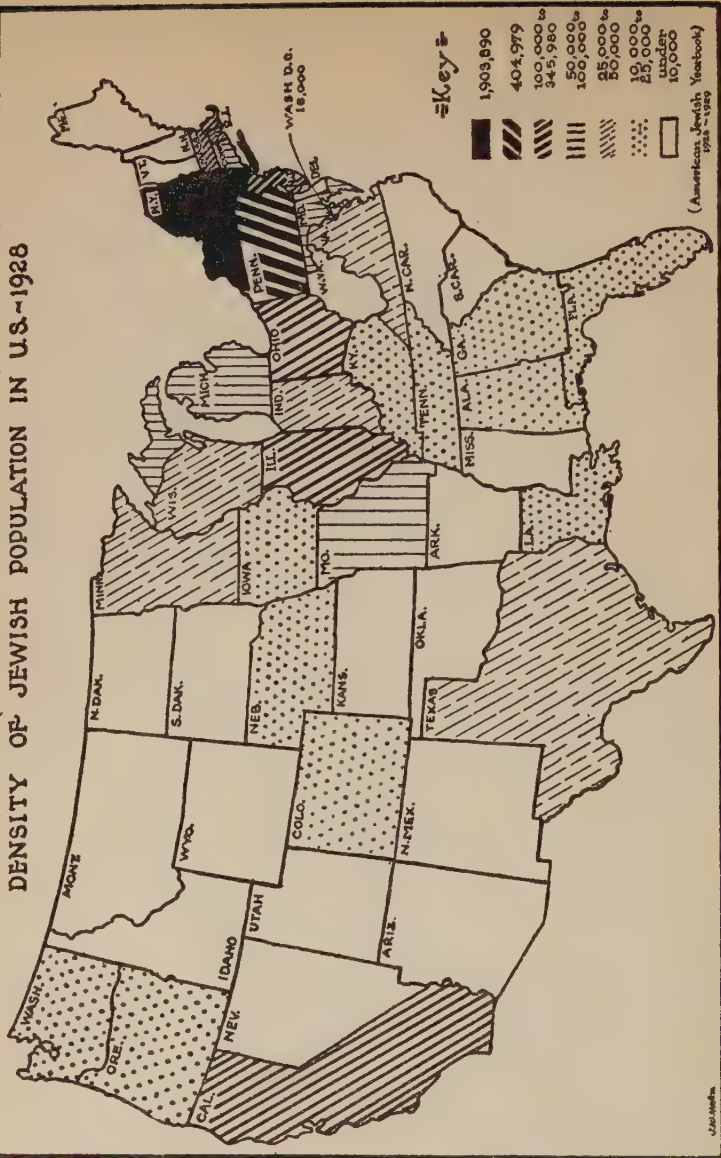
1. The Jews with Columbus. The very discovery of America was interwoven with that great and terrible moment in Jewish history, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The authority to the discoverer was issued in the same month and by the same monarchs as the decree of expul-

sion; the property of the Jews was one of the sources for the fitting out of the three tiny caravels. When these three ships left Palos harbor on the ninth day of Ab, the ancient day of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem, they passed the slow and heavy-laden craft carrying the wanderers out of the pleasant land of Spain. Jewish financial advisers had urged Isabella to give Columbus his chance; he carried maps made by Jewish geographers; five of his crew were Marranos. The first to set foot on the soil of the New World was one of these secret Jews, Luis de Torres, the interpreter. Knowing many tongues, he hoped to converse with the inhabitants of India, whom they expected to meet.

But with all this hopefulness, all this interest, the first records of Jews in America are the same as the last records in Spain, the dreary chronicles of the Inquisition. The Spaniards brought the Inquisition with them; they practised burnings and tortures, seizure of property and prison sentences. The Portuguese, a little milder, did not burn people in Brazil, but sent suspects back to the mother country for trial. Only when the Dutch captured a province, such as Brazil or Dutch Guiana, were the Jews able to live as Jews in South America.

As early as the 1630's, there was a notable Jewish community at Recife, in Brazil, the first in the New World, but the Portuguese captured the city and the Jews had to scatter. Another settlement in Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, was almost as important. It still persists, the oldest Jewish community in the Americas today, preceding that of New York by exactly fifteen years. In the old days these Jews had their own settlement on an island in the river, fronting the jungle; they were plantation owners and slave holders, aristocrats and soldiers. The Nassi family were

DENSITY OF JEWISH POPULATION IN U.S.-1928



like the Spanish Jews of the Golden Age, wealthy, cultured, public men and Jewish leaders.

2. **The Three Waves of Settlement.** These Spanish Jews, naturally, were the first to reach North America. Fugitives from their native land, they sought everywhere a refuge and a home. In fact, the first few thousands of Jews who came to what is now the United States were the Sephardim; very few German, English or Polish Jews appear in this country until the 1840's. They constitute the first "wave" of Jewish immigration. They trickled in, one family after another, settling in those colonies which were most tolerant, and founded importing firms and engaged in trade. Many of them were of aristocratic families and were wealthy merchants. Being very few, they needed no institutions except the synagogue and the cemetery and school that usually went with it.

About the year 1840 there were just 15,000 Jews in the United States, most of them Sephardim. But by 1880 there were 250,000; most of these newcomers were of the second wave of immigration, from Germany. By 1928 there were 4,200,000. The greatest number have come since 1880; they belong to the third wave, from Russia and eastern Europe. In other words, each migration was so much greater than the previous one that it almost swallowed up the other. Today over three million American Jews are immigrants from eastern Europe or their descendants; about a half million are the descendants of German Jews (very few were themselves born in Germany); the smallest number of all are the few descendants of the proud Sephardim of the early days. About eighty per cent are the Russians; fifteen per cent the Germans; while the other five per cent have to be divided between the old Sephardim and such newcomers as Oriental Jews, Persian Jews, and the like.

For all kinds of Jews the world over have sent their representatives to the great Jewry of America.

The second wave of immigration did not come alone as a result of special Jewish persecution. Germany was very poor in those days and millions of Germans came to America, with a large number of Jews among them. They were mostly poor peddlers when they arrived, with little learning, and with no money at all. The German Jew usually started out with a pack on his back, then bought a horse and wagon, and later opened a little store. In this way they scattered throughout the country, founding most of the Jewish communities in the south, the middle west and the far west. They established the Jewish lodges, the charities, all the communal institutions beside the synagogues, and many new synagogues as well. They were middle class people, who rose from poverty by their own hard work and courage. Very many of the leaders of the Jews of America today, philanthropists, professional and public men, are the sons of these poor German peddlers of fifty to a hundred years ago.

This German migration decreased about 1865 when the German laws began to bear less severely on the Jews. But soon the migration of Jews from eastern Europe, who had been coming all along in very small numbers, began to swell to a great tide. In 1881 came those terrible May Laws and the great pogroms which we shall describe in our chapter on the Jews of Russia. The Jews fled from these persecutions. They did not come in single families, like the Spanish, or as a special class of poor peddlers, like the Germans. They came in great masses, rich and poor, learned and ignorant together. They were not all business men; there were also working men and students, storekeepers and writers. Whole villages were transferred from

Poland and Russia to the East Side of New York. Great masses of Jews came also from neighboring lands, such as Austria and Roumania.

These Jews brought new institutions with them, the Yiddish language with its books, theatres and newspapers, sympathy with the new movement of Zionism. They were not like the Jews who, on the whole, brought from Germany the same interest in reform in their religion, the same steady-going loyalty to the government they had practiced in the Fatherland. Most of these Jews from Russia were strictly orthodox; they were devoted to the synagogue and their Hebrew studies; they had little interest in the new and noisy life about them, which they could not understand. But a great many of these Russian Jews, especially the younger people, were not devoted to the religion of their fathers; some of them had been rebels against the oppressions of the Czar and were still eager for freedom. In America they had freedom, but found miserable conditions in working and earning a livelihood; so they became active in the great labor movement of the United States to reform these conditions.

The whole story of the Jew in the United States is the story of these three waves of immigrants; how they settled down, what they accomplished, and how, in the twentieth century, they are slowly but surely becoming one again, no longer Spanish or German or Russian Jews, but merely Jews, the community of Jews in America.

3. The First Jews in North America. The first settlement of Jews in any of the northern colonies was in the year 1654 when twenty-three Jews, fugitives from South America, sailed on the bark *St. Charles* into the harbor of New Amsterdam, then a Dutch possession. These people must

have been very poor, for their possessions had to be sold to pay for their passage; this was one objection that Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Amsterdam, urged against their admission to the colony. But their appeal to Holland was successful; they were finally allowed to settle on condition they would not become a burden to the colony and would care for their own poor.

It is hard for us to picture the tiny Dutch settlement of those days and the handful of Spanish Jews trying to enter it, when we see the million and three-quarters of Jews of New York City today, and the great institutions for religion, charity and education which they have built up. At the same time other Jews were coming directly from Holland. One of these, Jacob Barsimson, seems to have preceded the St. Charles and its company and thus was the first Jew to settle in what is now the United States.

The second settlement of Jews was in Newport, under the liberal and far-sighted constitution of Roger Williams. Until the Revolution, the Jewish community of Newport was larger and more flourishing than that of New York. But it was broken up because its members were, almost to a man, supporters of the Revolution, and their many ships and valuable cargoes were at the mercy of Great Britain. If you go to Newport today, you will see there the oldest Jewish cemetery still remaining in the United States, founded in 1677, and the oldest synagogue, built in 1763. Two interesting poems have been written about this old Jewish cemetery, one by Longfellow, who was a good friend of the Jews and a student of Jewish history, the other by an American Jewess, Emma Lazarus.

4. **Jews in the Founding of the Republic.** Little by little the Jews settled in various places where the laws allowed them, for most of the colonies had their established

churches and their laws against Quakers, Catholics and Jews, up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Some settled in Pennsylvania, where the Quakers welcomed all refugees from every land. They came to Georgia in the very year of its settlement, welcomed by the kind-hearted Colonel Oglethorpe. Some of them went to South Carolina, whose liberal charter had been drafted by the great English philosopher, John Locke. So that at the time of the Revolution there were about 2,500 Jews in the colonies, with five congregations, in New York, Newport, Philadelphia, Charleston and Savannah.

When George Washington was inaugurated as President, these congregations and also a new one in Richmond, Va., sent him letters of congratulation, which he acknowledged, using these famous words: "The citizens of the United States have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. . . . May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

George Washington had his reasons for this splendid statement, which we can compare favorably with the utterance of any statesman in the world at that period. Forty Jews served under him during the Revolution; one, Colonel Isaac Franks, was a member of his personal staff. Most of the Jews in the colonies, knowing how hard oppression could be, were lovers of freedom and cast their lot with the Continentals, even at the risk of their fortunes. The most important of these, a man whose name deserves to go down in American history as one of the founders of the Republic, was

Haym Salomon. Salomon was, as far as we know, the first Polish Jew to reach America. He was devoted to the cause of liberty, was imprisoned by the British in New York, but escaped to Philadelphia. He was the broker through whom the famous Robert Morris carried on many of his financial transactions for the United States government over a period of several years.

He was paymaster to the French troops in America; advanced money to the Spanish ambassador; supported several of the delegates to the Continental Congress when their states did not send them supplies—including a future President of the United States, James Madison. When he died, just after the Revolution, he left no money at all, only government securities for \$350,000, for he had loaned his entire fortune to the government. Sad to say, the family of this generous giver lived in want, for none of this money was ever repaid, from those desperately poor days of the Republic up to the present.

There were only a few Jews in the colonies, and their direct influence was chiefly that of traders, helping to bring the colonies nearer to each other by traveling back and forth in buying and selling. But their indirect influence was immeasurably greater. The Puritans were great students of the Bible; they carried Jewish ideas into the founding of their colonies and through them, into the life of America. The Mayflower Compact was based on the laws of Moses. The arguments for the Revolution itself were largely drawn from Hebrew history by the Puritan preachers; they knew that the struggle of Israel in earliest days had been one for freedom from earthly kings, that the people might live their own national life and worship their own God.

5. The Contribution of America—Religious Freedom. In return for this Jewish service and Jewish influence to the cause of America, the United States caused a decisive turn in Jewish history for all time. For the United States was the first nation in the world to establish complete religious liberty, when the Federal Constitution forbade any religious test for holding office and the First Amendment prohibited any established Church. In the Old World, even when tolerated, happy and successful, the Jew had been an alien; only Christians, members of the official Church, had been full citizens. Now in America the Jew was a citizen exactly like everybody else. The theory of toleration was ended, and religious liberty had taken its place. From America this idea was taken back to the Old World and, little by little, influenced the life of the Jews there as well.

Of course, not all the colonies were equally liberal from the beginning. Most of them had had state churches before the Revolution; many of them did not abolish all the old restrictions on voting or holding office until some years after the establishment of the Federal government. Virginia was the scene of the decisive struggle in 1785, just before the Federal Constitution was written; the genius of a Jefferson, plus the leadership of Madison were needed to establish complete religious freedom there. A few states, such as North Carolina and New Hampshire, did not rewrite their early constitutions until after the Civil War.

6. Some American Jews Worth Knowing. It is interesting to note how, here and there, Jews of prominence appear in different walks of life and in different sections of the country. Such were Judah Touro, the merchant and philanthropist of New Orleans; Mordecai Manuel Noah, the writer and politician of New York; and Uriah P. Levy,

who rose from a common sailor to a Commodore in the Navy of the United States. The characters of these three men were as different as their careers.

Touro was a precise, formal little man, who opened his own store every morning at exactly the same moment. Born in 1776 in Newport of an old Sephardic family, he went to make his fortune in the far south, being the first Jew to settle in New Orleans. He did make a small fortune in trade and developed it into a large one by investing in New Orleans property. Much of this wealth he gave away in charity during his life, and by his will divided the rest, leaving money to every important charity in his native city of Newport and in New Orleans, Jewish and non-Jewish, as well as to every Jewish congregation in the country in 1854, the year of his death. In both Newport and New Orleans there are streets bearing his name, institutions such as Touro Park in the former and Touro Hospital in the latter.

Meanwhile Mordecai Manuel Noah was writing plays, editing newspapers, holding offices and fighting duels. He was generous and visionary, always engaged in some novel scheme, always entering into some kind of a battle. He was sheriff of New York County; later he became United States Consul to Tunis, where he was able to befriend the native Jews as well as to ransom some American citizens, captured by pirates. He was a kind of Zionist, too, for he tried to establish a refuge for the Jews on an island in the Niagara River opposite Buffalo in the state of New York. He called the city that he was to build Ararat, appointed himself the first Governor and Judge over Israel, and dedicated the settlement with much picturesque ceremony in 1825. But nobody ever settled on his island, neither the oppressed

Jews of the world nor the Indians, whom he formally welcomed as the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.

The third Jew of this period whom we may want to remember was Uriah Phillips Levy, the bold, fiery naval officer. He was born in 1792, ran away to sea when ten years old, and served in the navy in the War of 1812. Six times he was court martialed in later days; but each time he vindicated himself. He rejected the offer of an important post in the Brazilian navy; he fought a duel in defense of the good name of the President; he abolished the practice of corporal punishment in the United States navy. He died just after the outbreak of the Civil War, an old man, with the rank of Commodore, the highest officer in the American navy at the time.

7. The Jew in the Civil War. By the time the Civil War broke out there were about 200,000 Jews in the United States; fully 7,500 of these served in the Union or Confederate armies. The larger number of them lived in the North; they had come to America for freedom for themselves, and were ardent for the extension of it to the negro slaves. But there were also some old Jewish families in the South, who were as devoted to their states as was any other southerner.

Rabbi David Einhorn of Baltimore spoke so boldly for abolition that he had to flee from that city to Philadelphia. Peculiarly enough, the most conspicuous Jew in the country at that time was a southerner, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana. During the pre-war days he had been a defender of slavery in the Senate, where he had represented his state. When his state seceded he promptly resigned from the Senate and was appointed to President Davis' cabinet.

Judah P. Benjamin had a picturesque life, three distinct careers in a normal lifetime. The first was before the Civil War, when he made several fortunes in the law, lost them in sugar plantations, refused an appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States, and served two terms in the Senate. The second was during the war, when he occupied three different cabinet positions. He served so brilliantly in his final position as Secretary of State, that some historians have called him the "brains of the Confederacy." The third period was after the war, when he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Union, escaped to England, and there carried on a distinguished career as lawyer for sixteen years, becoming one of the leading lawyers of Great Britain.

Benjamin was the outstanding public man among the Jews of his day, and probably the most important whom the Jews have contributed to American life, even though we have since had Oscar S. Straus in the cabinet of President Roosevelt, and Louis D. Brandeis in the Supreme Court of the United States.

8. Reform Judaism in America. We have seen that the nineteenth century produced new religious ideas in Europe, and that Reform Judaism began in Germany in 1818. As the German Jews came to America, they carried this idea of modernizing their religion with them, and found it even better adapted to American than to German conditions. They did not originate the movement in the United States; that had already been done in Charleston, S. C., as early as 1824, when a group of the younger men in that old Sephardic congregation tried to introduce a number of changes in the prayers and customs of the community. But they failed because they had no rabbi or Jewish scholar to act as their leader. Other groups of young German

Jews formed societies for study and worship; from these modest groups arose later some of the greatest reform congregations of the country.

But the real growth of Reform Judaism came when the poor German peddlers became a little richer, and a little more educated in American and liberal ideas, and when rabbis with a good Jewish background came from Europe to lead in the new movement. The most important of them all was a young man who came from Bohemia in 1846, Isaac Mayer Wise. This young man was a rabbi for a few years in Albany, N. Y., where he became more and more liberal in his ideas and more and more determined to teach them to his people. In 1854 he was called as rabbi to Cincinnati, where he lived and served for forty-six years until his death. Those forty-six years cover the great organization period of the German Jews in America, during which time Isaac M. Wise was their great organizer and leader.

For the first twenty years he labored apparently in vain; the German Jews were not yet wealthy enough, nor were they Americanized; these poor peddlers were just becoming settled business men. But in 1873 he succeeded in organizing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Two years later he opened the doors of the Hebrew Union College, a school to train rabbis in America, with American ideas. By 1889 there were enough graduates of the College to form, with others, the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Dr. Wise was president of the College and of the Conference until his death. He founded and edited the "American Israelite," as well as a Jewish paper in German; he wrote books, preached sermons, taught students.

He brought together the scattered forces of Jewry, particularly in the south and middle west, where the German Jews were spreading and building up their little congrega-

tions. He was not alone; we have mentioned David Einhorn, and there were other German and Austrian rabbis who came to America to preach a more modern and more liberal Judaism during that time. But we remember Isaac M. Wise as the organizer and unifier, the one who built up modern Judaism in America.

At the same time, very many of the German Jews did not turn to reform; these orthodox Jews found a leader in Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia. We know him today chiefly through his translation of the Bible into English, but many Jewish institutions in Philadelphia which he founded still bear his name, for his influence too was an important element in the growth of Judaism in America.

9. The Period of Construction. The middle of the nineteenth century was the great period of organization among the German Jews. They were great organizers by temperament; they liked to come together for discussion and for practical purposes. Besides, their numbers were growing too great and their problems too difficult to be solved by the synagogue alone, as had been the case among the Sephardim. So they founded lodges, beginning with the Independent Order B'nai B'rith in 1843, the great growth of that organization coming in the sixties and seventies. They founded charities, at first little societies for mutual welfare, then orphan homes and hospitals for the dependent poor, then federations of charities to care for the needs of the community. As they scattered throughout the country they built synagogues, and then formed these synagogues into a Union of Congregations. They also formed a Board of Delegates of American Israelites to speak for them on international Jewish problems.

As immigration from Germany practically ceased after 1865 and immigration from Russia did not begin in great

numbers until after 1880, they had fifteen years for this great constructive work, which has left its permanent marks on American Jewish life. They unconsciously prepared for the great emergency, the huge immigration of Russian Jews in the period to follow.

In this manner the little American Jewish community, an offshoot of the great Jewish communities of Europe, slowly grew to take its place as a factor among the Jews of the world. Jewish leadership, after its journey to every continent and many different lands, might some day come to the New World, where freedom and opportunity are the equal possession of the Jew with all other men. Meanwhile, in the old Europe, the fires of hate had never died down; the growing emancipation of the nineteenth century never reached the completeness which it had in the United States from the very beginning.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell of the Spanish Jews in the earliest American discoveries.
2. Describe the three waves of Jewish settlement in the United States.
3. Who were the first Jews to reach North America? Tell the story.
4. Tell about the Jews in the Revolution.
5. In what way was the United States the cradle of religious liberty? Why did this come about?
6. Describe two American Jews of the early part of the nineteenth century.
7. Give the part of the Jews in the Civil War; tell about one important Jew in that struggle.
8. Describe the rise of reform Judaism in America.
9. What was the great work of the period from 1865 to 1880?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The background of each of the three waves of immigration; the reasons these people came to America; the difference between their Old World and New World homes. This should make three interesting studies for three pupils.
2. The life of Judah P. Benjamin (Pierce Butler: "Judah P. Benjamin" is a good biography).
3. Columbus and the Jews (use Keyserling: Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries).
4. Washington and the Jews.
5. The life and work of Isaac M. Wise (Max B. May: "Isaac Mayer Wise," is a good biography; there is also a volume of reminiscences, edited by David Philipson).
6. Rebecca Gratz and the Philadelphia Jewish community.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

- Lee J. Levinger: History of the Jews in the United States.
 Peter Wiernick: History of the Jews in America.
 Harris: Modern Jewish History, chap. 10.
 Zangwill: Ghetto Tragedies; the sketch, Noah's Ark, is a fine picture of Mordecai M. Noah.
 Wasserman: Judah Touro.
 E. E. Levinger: The New Land, stories of famous American Jews.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

- American Jewish Historical Society, 30 volumes of proceedings; a fine mass of source material.
 Raisin: History of the Jews in Modern Times, chap. 4, pp. 245-292,
 Margolis and Marx, chap. 79, 86, 91.
 Simon Wolf: The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen.
 Philipson: The Reform Movement in Judaism, chap. 12.

XV.

THE NIGHTMARE OF RUSSIAN JEWRY

1. **The Polish Jews Become Russian Jews.** We have seen how the Jews entered the kingdom of Poland in the Middle Ages, where they lived under a system very much like the Ghettos of western Europe, with their own language, their own courts, and their own customs. They, too, had their own Kahal or governing body, which controlled their communities and was responsible to the government for their taxes. Persecutions were few and far between, though there was that one outbreak of the Cossacks in 1648 which became one of the terrible memories of the Jewish people. The Polish kings preferred to have the Jews settle in the villages rather than the cities; many of them were forced to live in the little country places, where they acted as agents for the Polish noble who owned the estate or village, collecting his rents, selling liquor for his profit, and conducting the inns for their own livelihood. This was a hard and sad mode of living, but it was tolerated, and the Jews became accustomed to it.

Suddenly, in 1772, Poland was divided between Russia, Austria and Prussia. The greater part of its Jewish population became subjects of the Russian Czars. Up to that time no Jews at all had been allowed to live in "Holy Russia." Russia was still living in the Middle Ages, though the rest of Europe was modern and preparing for the nineteenth century. What should Russia do with

this million or more Jews who had suddenly become a part of an Empire which had never allowed a single one of them to enter even for a brief time? Catherine the Great was the Empress who had to decide this matter; she did, in as harsh a way as possible. First of all, she used the words, "except the Jews" in the laws which she made; this phrase became the regular addition to all Russian laws for a century and a half, expressing just what the Russian government thought of these Jewish aliens. Then, she organized the Pale of Settlement in 1791, which was to last until the Revolution of 1917.

All the Jews in the Russian Empire were forced to live in certain regions, and within those regions, only in certain towns. This meant that most of the villages became closed territory for the Jews. The Poles had forced them to live in the villages; the Russians now forced them to leave the villages and live in the towns. These restrictions were impounded on Jewish life in Russia. Catherine established a policy of oppression toward her Jewish subjects, which became the policy of the Czars from that time on. The life of the Russian Jews now depended neither on their Polish neighbors, nor on the Russian people. It was dependent entirely on the particular Czar who was ruling at the time. One Czar would pass new and cruel laws; another would offer them bribes to desert Judaism.

2. The Policy of the Czars. During the century and more that the Jews lived in Russia there were six of these Czars. They governed as absolute despots with the aid of the army, the secret police and the Russian Orthodox Church. The Jews were suspected because they spoke in a foreign tongue (Yiddish), and lived in the frontier provinces, where they might aid an enemy. They were more than suspected of working for liberalism; they were hated

because they were not Christians and would not accept the Christian faith. Being largely merchants, they were accused of living at the expense of the workingmen and peasants, for the Russians did not understand the great need for traders to help in building up their backward country. From every standpoint the Jews were under attack.

Let us take the matter of education. There were no public schools in Russia either for Jews or anybody else; for a long time it was even forbidden to teach the peasants to read. The schools and universities which existed were for the noblemen; the number of Jews allowed to enter them was limited to a very small quota. So the Jews had their own schools, which taught the Hebrew language, the Bible, the Talmud, and allowed only a little time or none at all to modern subjects, such as Russian and arithmetic. Then the Russians blamed the Jews for their lack of modern education and said they were not loyal to Russia or interested in the Russian nation. Special rights were offered to Jews who graduated from a university, but most Jews were not allowed to enter the university.

Alexander I, the Czar who ruled from 1801 to 1825, began with bribes and promises to those who would convert themselves to Christianity; but the Jews did not respond. He was the leader of the fierce reaction after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo (1815), and for the last ten years of his reign was the bitter enemy of his Jewish subjects. Many Jews were expelled from the frontier provinces where they had formerly been compelled to live, and were left to die on the roads.

His successor, Nicholas I, was the most brutal and autocratic of all the Czars in modern times and all his subjects suffered; as usual, the Jews suffered the most. For thirty years Nicholas turned the Russian Empire into a vast mili-

tary camp, drafting soldiers at the age of eighteen to serve twenty-five years in the army under the most severe discipline. For the first time in Russian history, he also drafted the Jews into the army. His special purpose in this was not only to get more soldiers, but also to force the Jews to adopt Christianity.

But the young men of eighteen would not be forced; they had learned the meaning of their own religion and most of them would undergo any torment rather than desert it. So now the soldiers of Nicholas began to seize young boys and even little children, and send them to Cantons in distant Provinces to be trained and tortured for years before they could become regular soldiers. These children would be dragged away from their parents and made to serve under the cruel officers of the Czar for thirty years, away from home, always with promises that they would have easier treatment if they turned Christians. They were called "Cantonists" or "Nicholas Soldiers"; many a sad story has been told about their bravery and the sufferings they endured.

Finally, Nicholas began to hold the Jewish communities responsible for their number of recruits, and allowed them to produce substitutes. Now bands of kidnappers roamed the roads, stealing Jewish children to sell into the armies of the iron Czar. Of all the sorrows of the Jews of Russia, this service in the army had aroused their indignation the most because of its extreme cruelty to little children.

Nicholas tried one brief policy of a milder type, but this also proved an intention to harm the Jews. He was persuaded at one time that the reason why the Jews remained apart from the Russians was their religion, and especially the Talmud; that if they received a modern education, they might become more like the Jews of Germany. Of course,

he never considered that the Jews of Germany lived even then in a modern land and had more liberties than his own Jewish subjects. So his ministers induced Dr. Max Lilienthal, a young German rabbi, to come to Russia and organize modern Jewish schools, like those which Mendelssohn had started in Germany. Suddenly, after years of work, Lilienthal left for America; he must have seen a purpose to convert the Jews in these schools. The schools were closed. Bribery and promises to the Jews stopped, and compulsion and terror went on once more.

The next Czar was Alexander II (1855-1881), who has gone down in history as a liberal because he freed the serfs. But Alexander's policy toward the Jews was neither fair nor friendly. He merely turned from violence toward bribery again. The drafting of soldiers stopped; a few special classes of Jews were allowed to live in Russian cities outside the Pale; others were allowed to enter the universities. But these concessions did not draw them away from their people, nor from the liberal movement, which grew stronger every year. Alexander changed his mind and turned back toward tyranny and repression. In the midst of this he was killed by Revolutionists, and his son Alexander III became Czar.

3. Persecution by Law and Mob. From 1881 to 1894 this Czar attacked the liberals and the Jews in every possible way. At the beginning of his reign there was a whole series of pogroms, or mob attacks on the Jews, organized by the government itself. Bloody massacres took place in Odessa, Elizabethgrad and many other cities. Nothing was done to prevent them; instead, there were investigations and trials to prove why the Jews should be hated. At the same time, new laws were passed against the Jews,

excluding them from schools and universities, from cities and certain districts.

The "May Laws" of 1882 drove the Jews into fewer and fewer towns even within the old Pale; while those living elsewhere were left at the mercy of the police, who would drive them out or take bribes to leave them in peace. Thus great masses of Jews in Russia were forced to live in constant insecurity and fear, without any rights, even of residence, trading, or study, as long as they remained Jews. The Russian rulers did not care how many might die or leave the country. One of the Czar's advisers even announced that the government planned to dispose of the Jewish problem in this way: one-third would starve to death, one-third would leave the country, and one-third would become Christians; then there would be no Jews left, and no Jewish problem.

The first two parts of this program actually took place. A great many Jews starved, and a great many more left the country. We shall see in later chapters how Russian Jews migrated to the United States in great masses from 1882 till 1914, when the World War checked them; how Baron de Hirsch organized a movement to colonize them in the Argentine; how the Lovers of Zion began to found farm colonies of Russian Jewish refugees in Palestine. But the third aim, that of conversion, was never accomplished. The loyalty of the Russian Jews to their faith was like that of the Jews of the Ghetto, under the Inquisition, and all through this glorious history. Very few were lured into the Church of their persecutors.

The last of the Czars was Nicholas II, and under his reign the Jews of Russia were fated to undergo twenty-three more years of suffering. There were new laws, new

violence, new poverty, new efforts to undermine the spirit and destroy the life of the Jews. We cannot even list all of them. In 1903 occurred that terrible pogrom at Kishineff, when the mob raged for three days under the orders of the government and watched by the police; hundreds were killed, thousands wounded and attacked, little children butchered with their parents, the Jewish quarter of the city plundered and wrecked.

The whole civilized world was horrified that such an act could occur in the twentieth century. The cruelty and brutality of the mob, combined with the cold-blooded heartlessness with which the government had organized this massacre of its own subjects shocked Jew and Christian alike. A great petition was sent by President Roosevelt to the Czar, signed by thousands of prominent Americans; other nations showed their horror in similar ways. Kishineff was a turning point in the struggle of the Russian autocracy to destroy the Jews.

Bialik, the great Hebrew poet in Russia, wrote the "City of Slaughter," one of his finest poems, on the terrible pogrom of Kishineff.

"Come, follow me into the dreadful town,
And with thine own eyes see
And with thine own hands feel
On hedge and post, on gate and wall,
On city pavements, and from all the boards
The black-hardened blood, the very marrow
That from thy brethren's heads and necks did gush.
And wander then amidst the ruins
Through broken walls and crooked doors,
Past shattered stoves, and half burnt bricks,
Where yesternight the fire and axe and iron
Upon this bloody revel a wild-dance played."

Kishineff was not alone. It was followed by still other pogroms. Even when the Jews tried to defend themselves, the situation was no better, for at Homel the defenders were arrested and sent to jail, while the attackers went free.

Two years later, in 1905, after Russia had been defeated in the war with Japan, there was an attempted Revolution; the Czar granted a constitution and called an election for a Duma, or Parliament. But at the same time he had no intention of granting real freedom to the Russian people. The forces of reaction organized bands, called the Black Hundreds, which blamed the defeat in war, the attempt at revolution and every other trouble of Russia on the Jews, and then killed them in revenge. Again there were terrible massacres of Jews, the worst of them in Odessa. Again hundreds of liberals were executed or sent to Siberia; there were always enough Jews among them to serve as an excuse for more pogroms. Right up to the beginning of the World War the Jews of Russia were constantly subjected to severer laws and police control, and suffered from the constant fear of outbreaks by the ignorant mob, led by fanatical priests and dishonest officials.

The last act of Russian oppression before the World War was another trial for ritual murder, the Beilis case at Kiev in 1911. It is hard for us to realize that a Jew could be tried for such a crime in modern times, when everybody knows what a ridiculous slander such an accusation is. But in Russia everybody did not know; the ignorant peasants actually believed that Jews might use the blood of Christian children to make their Matzoth, and the government was ready to use any accusation in order to attack the Jews.

So this poor Jewish workingman, Mendel Beilis, was kept in prison for two years and tried for a crime which was committed by a gang of thieves—the slaying of a Christian boy. The whole Jewish people were being tried with him; the newspapers were full of accusations against the Jews, the trial was filled with the same kind of evidence. Strange to say, that even in Russia, Beilis was acquitted. The evidence was refuted; there was no proof against him at all. He was merely another innocent victim of the one-sided war of Russia against the Jews.

At this same time another method of attack was being made in Russian Poland, a boycott, or a refusal of the Poles to do any business with Jews. This was partly political, because the Jews refused to vote for a Polish anti-Semitic candidate for the Duma. This boycott ruined the business of thousands of Jewish merchants and brought many of their families to the verge of starvation. For them it was merely a slow pogrom, a gradual death.

4. Roumania, a Little Russia. While Russia was the most widely known land of torment for the Jews, the smaller Jewish community of Roumania was suffering precisely the same mistreatment. The Roumanians had won their own freedom from Turkey in the middle of the nineteenth century. They at once began oppressing the subject nationalities, especially the Jews. In 1878 their freedom was guaranteed by the great Powers; Disraeli, the British prime minister, was responsible for a clause providing that Roumania must give equal rights to the Jews and other minorities. But at once, the new nation proceeded to evade the treaty by all kinds of laws against the Jews, and by prejudiced methods of enforcing the laws. The Jews of Roumania had to suffer legal restriction, ritual murder trials, and occasional pogroms just like those of Russia. They too fled to

America in large numbers; they flocked to the standard of Zionism the moment it was raised.

5. The Inner Life of the Pale. The amazing thing to us is that, with all this sorrow and fear, the Jews of Russia and the rest of eastern Europe lived an active and even brilliant inner life. They did not tend to reform their religion or education, as it seemed at one time they might do by joining the Mendelssohn movement. They were under too bitter an attack ever to consider themselves, as the reform Jews did in Germany, Russians of the Jewish religion. They were Jews by nationality in that mixture of nationalities known as the Russian Empire. Their Judaism was being attacked; how could they ever consent to give up any of it in the face of the enemy?

The greater part of the Russian Jews persisted in the two types of thought we studied in Chapter X, Torah and mysticism. They were followers of Elijah Gaon and studied the Talmud as their guide of life and their great source of knowledge. Or they followed the Baal Shem Tov and worshipped God in love and joy.

But there was a minority of Russian Jews who were modern. These followed one of the other movements that was started by Moses Mendelssohn—the cultivation of the Hebrew language as a tongue in which to write modern books. This had been taken up in Mendelssohn's own time in Germany and Austria, but had been dropped there for other movements, such as the Science of Judaism and reform in the synagogue. Now it became the movement of modern Jewish thinkers in Russia; they called it the Haskalah or "enlightenment," and called themselves the Maskilim, or "enlighteners." Their writings were partly about the Jews and Jewish problems, partly about all other

subjects that interested people in the nineteenth century. Some of them wrote also in Yiddish, the language of the people, which they gradually developed into a literary language; some of them even wrote in Russian, the language of their oppressors.

The first of them all was Isaac Baer Levinsohn, the Mendelssohn of Russia; about forty years after Mendelssohn, he followed that great leader in trying to combine Jewish interest and general education. He and his followers published magazines in the Hebrew language, wrote poetry and novels as well as histories and serious articles. Abraham Mapu wrote a romantic novel of the days of Isaiah, entitled "Ahabath Zion," the Love of Zion, which introduced hundreds of young students of the Bible to modern literature. Of course, they had to read it in secret, as the Haskalah movement was not approved by the old type of Hebrew educators.

We have already mentioned the greatest of Hebrew poets, Chaim Nachman Bialik, and you will hear in chapter XVII of Ahad Ha'am, the greatest of Hebrew essayists and the founder of cultural Zionism. For Haskalah in Russia led toward Zionism; Smolenskin and Pinsker were forerunners of Theodore Herzl as they worked out a theory of the Jewish nation.

Soon after this revival of the ancient Hebrew tongue as a living language for the expression of modern ideas, came the dignifying of Yiddish, the language of the common people, and the writing of a great deal of interesting literature in that language. Hebrew writing began in Russia and developed in Palestine; Yiddish literature, on the other hand, began in Russia and developed in America. Many of the writers of the nineteenth century used both languages for different ideas, and for reaching different classes of readers.

The first Yiddish writer of rank was Mendele Mocher Seforim (Shalom Jacob Abramowitch was his real name). He was a story teller of great power and fascination, whose example led many others to use Yiddish as a language for writing books. The best known today of the Yiddish writers are Judah Leb Perez, whose touching stories give the whole background of Jewish life in Russia, and tell especially about the Chassidim with their poverty, their piety and their homely life; and Shalom Alechem (Rabinowitz), the "Yiddish Mark Twain," who began his career in Russia and then came to America where his humorous writings gained him immense popularity. Jews laughed and cried and marveled, when they found the life they themselves had lived set down upon the printed page for the first time.

So we have seen how eastern Europe lingered behind western Europe and America in its treatment of the Jew. The Jews of the west were slowly gaining their freedom and becoming active, loyal citizens of the various nations, at just the time that their brothers in Russia were most oppressed and steadily driven back into the darkness of Ghetto life and Ghetto thought.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the Polish Jews become Russian Jews? What difference did the change make to them?
2. Tell the two policies followed by the Czars toward the Jews. Illustrate.
3. What was a pogrom?
4. Give three examples of restrictive laws against the Jews.
5. What was the purpose of ritual murder trials in Russia? Give one example of such a trial.

6. Show how the example of Russia influenced some other country of eastern Europe.
7. What were the chief intellectual movements among the Russian Jews? Who were the leaders in them?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Read *Hamathmid* by Bialik (English translations in *Fleg: Jewish Anthology*; and *Bialik's Poems*); describe the kind of life it treats.
2. Read some of the stories in *Perez: Stories and Pictures*, or in *Frank: Yiddish Tales* (Jewish Publication Society). Discuss the life lived by the people in the story.
3. Max Lilienthal in Russia (see *Max Lilienthal, American Rabbi*, by David Philipson).
4. The Kishineff pogrom and American reaction.
5. The trial of Mendel Beilis.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

- I. Friedlander: *The Jews of Russia and Poland*.
Harris: *Modern Jewish History*, chap. 5.
Jehudah Steinberg: *In Those Days, a story of the Nicholas soldiers*.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

- Sachar: Chap. 5, 8; chap 6, section F.
Margolis and Marx: Chap. 70-74, 77, 82, 90, 92, 93, 95.
Raisin: Chap. 2.
S. M. Dubnow: *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 3 vols., the great work on the subject.
J. S. Raisin: *The Haskalah Movement*.
N. Slouschz: *The Renaissance of Hebrew Literature*.
I. Singer: *Russia at the Bar of the American People*, written after Kishineff.
I. Zangwill: *The Melting Pot*, a play based on Kishineff massacre.
Fleg: *Jewish Anthology*, pp. 318-391, a fine group of extracts from Russian Jewish writers.

XVI.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS IN WESTERN EUROPE

1. Many Jews Fit in. While in all eastern Europe there were still restrictive laws against the Jews, and a Jewish question, and even Jewish misery, many Jews in Western Europe felt that the struggle was over, and that another chapter in Jewish history had come to an end. They thought that they had only to become a part of the nation in which they lived, or a part of some world movement for the good of humanity, or active in their own business or profession, and the memory of the bitter centuries of the past would be lost forever. Some of them were Jews in religion only—either reform or orthodox; some were Jews by birth only, and had forgotten both the religion of their forefathers and the life history of their people. Still others were Jews by both faith and kinship, who sincerely believed that the nineteenth century had brought a new tolerance, and that the weary struggles of the little people of Israel were over at last.

Very much of the history of the Jews in this century is merely the story of separate individuals, and of the work they did in their own countries or in their own lives, without any reference to the Jewish people at all. We shall mention here only a few of these; but we must remember that there were many of them, that they lived in every

country in western Europe as well as in America, and that some of them were really great men.

There was the founder of the socialist movement, Karl Marx, a German Jew who lived most of his life as an exile in England. He was a little man with a big beard, spending his days studying and writing in the British Museum. He loved the laboring people and felt that the future of the world depended on them. So with his love and his study, he wrote a great book entitled "Capital," which was the basis for the world-wide movement of Socialism. There was his opposite, Ferdinand Lasalle, a brilliant, dashing figure, who led the Social Democratic party of Prussia, and was the people's idol till his tragic death in a useless duel. Many Jews, like these, found their hope in the movements for human betterment in their own lands or in the entire world.

Here and there a Jew became known internationally through brilliant accomplishment in one field or another of thought. There was Georg Brandes, a Danish Jew, who was the most important literary critic of his day, and who wrote great biographies of Shakespeare and Goethe. There is Henri Bergson, a French Jew, professor of philosophy in the University of Paris and a member of the French Academy, whose original ideas attracted attention everywhere. There is Sigmund Freud, a Jewish physician in Vienna, who began an entirely new method of treating the mentally ill and originated a new branch of psychology known as psychoanalysis.

Probably most important of all, is Albert Einstein, a German Jew, who discovered the theory of relativity and changed the ideas of men on mathematics and physics the world over; he originated new ideas about light, matter and time, and has often been called the greatest physicist

since Newton. It is interesting for us to know that these men are Jews, and that some of them have Jewish interests and sympathies as well, though their great work was simply their own contribution to the world, and not a Jewish work at all.

2. Was Freedom Really Won? Most of the Jews of the middle of the nineteenth century thought freedom had been won forever. The world was getting better, they thought, and the freedom granted the Jew would never be taken away again. Much of this was true; the Ghetto could never come back, nor the old laws against the Jews. But enmity still smouldered, and the growing interest of people in their own races and nations caused still further sorrows for the scattered Jews of even the most civilized countries in the world.

In 1840 such a case occurred in far-away Damascus, where a number of Jews were arrested, charged with killing a priest to use his blood for religious purposes. It was the old blood libel of the Middle Ages, a thousand times disproved; but now it was so much worse because the French consul backed the charges against the Jews.

In the Middle Ages the Jews could have done little except pray for their brothers in danger. But in 1840 they held meetings in America and western Europe, and two prominent Jews journeyed to the Orient with the authority of great governments to free the prisoners and disprove the blood libel against the house of Israel. These men were Adolph Cremieux, a statesman of France, and Moses Montefiore, a philanthropist of England. By the time they arrived, some of the prisoners had been freed, while others had died under torture. The Sultan issued a decree branding the blood accusation as a falsehood. The Jews were not yet altogether free, but they had more courage and more power than ever before. The old world-wide bond of

unity still existed whenever their helpless brothers cried out for aid.

In 1858 occurred another tragedy in the Story of the Jew, when a little Italian Jewish boy, Edgar Mortara, who had been secretly baptized by his Catholic nurse, was taken away from his parents to be brought up as a Christian. Again the Jews protested, and many governments of Europe supported them. But the Pope was still the ruler of Rome as well as head of the Church, and he would not return the child to his family.

This time the Jews decided that they must found a permanent organization to defend their rights whenever they might be attacked. In Paris they organized the Alliance Israelite Universelle, or Universal Jewish Alliance, with Cremieux as its president. In addition to defending Jewish rights, they planned to advance modern education among Jews, and opened up a number of schools in Syria and the Near East. Soon the need for Jewish education and Jewish self defense were more evident than ever, for a new movement of enmity to the Jews began in two of the most cultured and freest lands of Europe, in France and Germany.

3. Anti-Semitism, a New Name for an Old Hatred. This new movement was called anti-Semitism, for it claimed to oppose the Jews, not on account of their religion but of their race; not because they were Jews but because they were Semites. Religious prejudice was no longer approved in western Europe; wars between Catholics and Protestants were at an end. But people were still prejudiced against each other, and their prejudices now took the form of racial and national hatreds. The new movement against the Jews claimed to have a scientific basis that they were an inferior race and should not be given the full rights of citizens in a nation which was inhabited mostly by Aryans.

This anti-Semitic movement began in Germany in 1878, though some Frenchmen had written books before that time about the differences between races. In Germany after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the people were very proud of themselves and their new Empire; they thought they were the greatest nation in the world. In their study of races they put the Germans on top, the related races next, and the Jews at the very bottom as the least intelligent and least moral of all. The French did the same, except that they put the French at the top and the Jews again at the bottom. Each nation was for itself and against other nations. But the party in each nation which believed most strongly in the race theory always had one hatred in common; they all placed the Jews last of all, and hated them more than any other people.

The effects of this anti-Semitic teaching were soon evident. Political parties were formed in Germany, Austria, Hungary and France, whose chief doctrine was "Down with the Jew." Attempts were made, often with success, to keep Jews out of public offices, army commissions, university professorships. The anti-Semitic parties elected members to the different national Parliaments. Books were written, newspapers published, for the special object of attacking the Jews.

The Jews were accused of lacking patriotism, of getting rich at the expense of the common people, of having bad manners, of trying to ruin the Christian nations and rule the world themselves. Back of it all was the constant accusation that they were aliens, too different ever to become a real part of a German, a French or any European nation. Of course, this was not caused only by hatred against the Jews; it was a part of the great war between the liberals and the reactionaries. The liberals had freed the Jews

from the Ghetto, so most of the Jews belonged either to the Socialist or the Liberal parties. But the kings, the nobles, the armies, often the churchmen, were against democracy, and against modernism—and therefore against the Jews. The Jewish people became the prey of political struggles; whether they won or lost, the terrible falsehoods flourished.

All these slanders were, of course, untrue, including the theory that the Jews are an inferior race. There is really no inferior race in the world. Every race has its able and its feeble members, and the majority of the race are average, like the majority of every other race. The modern Jews are no longer pure Semites like their desert ancestors, for they have made many converts and intermarriages during these thousands of years, and today look very much like the peoples of Europe. Especially must we remember that race does not affect people's minds nearly so much as the anti-Semites claimed. People's opinions are influenced far more by what they have studied and read than by what their remote ancestors used to do.

Anti-Semitism came as a terrible shock to the Jews because they thought they were so very modern, so very European, so very much a part of the great nations. At once several of the methods by which the Jews had worked out their adjustment toward the Christian world and toward their own people in past days, became more important than ever, and were developed to a much higher point.

4. The Jewish Replies to Anti-Semitism. What should the Jew do? It is the same problem we have met many times in the course of this history. Some went over to Hellenism, some to Christianity, and some persisted and wrote the Talmud. Later, some became Secret Jews and re-

mained in Spain, while others were Jews in public and had to give up their home and their native land for their faith. Now there were again a number of different ways in which the Jews could meet this situation of legal freedom plus anti-Semitism.

One way, which we have seen followed by many in the dark days between 1815 and 1848, and which became common again, was that of assimilation, to forget their Jewish origin and become as one with the people about them. Sometimes this meant becoming a member of the Christian church; sometimes dropping religion altogether. If the Jews disappear, said these people, there will be no anti-Semitism—and this was undoubtedly true. But it is not possible for a whole people like the Jews to disappear. Even the occasional man or woman found it hard to hide his Jewish origin, for the new race theory attacked even converted Jews if it could find them out. And lastly, such surrender would never satisfy any person of courage or loyalty who would never desert his people in the face of the enemy.

A second method, which we have seen grow up especially in reform Judaism, was that of being as liberal and as modern as possible and still remain Jews. This plan had a double purpose. It made it possible for many people to remain Jews who had no interest in the old Ghetto Judaism, yet loved their people and their faith; they preferred a modern to a medieval religion. Undoubtedly, liberalism among the Jews held many thousands loyal to their people who desired neither Ghetto Judaism nor Christianity. But the liberal program in Judaism was also designed to answer the anti-Semites, and to prove to all fair-minded Christians that the Jew was really as intelligent, as moral, and as de-

sirable a citizen as anybody else. This could never affect the anti-Semites themselves, for they were prejudiced; but it might impress other Christians who were honest and fair.

In their public speeches and often in their sermons in the synagogues as well, the reform Jews emphasized especially the universal ideas of the prophets, their ethical teachings, their hopes for a kingdom of God on earth. They ignored the national and ceremonial aspect, which was present in some of the prophets and which loomed up so largely in the Talmud and later writings. But liberalism could impress only liberal non-Jews. To the military and aristocratic party it was merely another sign that the Jews tended toward socialism, democracy and everything else that they considered bad.

5. Charity as an Answer. A third method of replying to the anti-Semites was by charity. This was especially important in protecting the Jews of Russia, Poland and Roumania from their terrible sufferings. We have seen the formation of the Alliance in France; there were similar societies in Germany, America and England for aiding these persecuted Jews. In Palestine and the Near East, schools were opened, especially trade schools, and farm colonies were established. Many individuals were aided to make a livelihood, but the Jewish masses at large could not be helped greatly for there were too many needy and starving Jews in oppressed lands.

One man, however, tried to solve the problem of the suffering Jewish masses of eastern Europe by his own wealth. This was Baron Maurice de Hirsch, a Jew born in Germany but living in Paris. He had made a great fortune by building a railroad through the Balkans to Constantinople at a time when most business men were afraid of the undertak-

ing. He became interested in the condition of his fellow Jews in the various countries to which he travelled, and decided that what they needed most was a chance to learn trades and to settle on the land and learn farming.

At that time the Jews of Turkey and the Orient were miserably poor, while the Jews of Russia and Roumania were undergoing fearful persecution. So he had two important parts of the world in which to develop his plans. To ease the first situation, he worked through the Alliance, giving great sums of money year after year to build and keep up its work. Then he turned to Russia, and offered 50,000,000 francs for education in that country, but the government refused this offer unless it had complete control of the money. No friend of the Jews could accept this condition. The Baron decided that the Russian Jews must be aided to some other land, where they could start life over as farmers and workingmen.

In London he organized the Jewish Colonization Association, started it off with two million pounds, and took active charge of the work himself. Land was bought in the Argentine, young and active colonists sent from Russia, schools established, and colonies of Jewish farmers organized. Of course, not all the Jews made good farmers, nor were all of them happy in that kind of work. But many of them succeeded, while the others went to Buenos Aires and built up an important Jewish community in that city.

The Baron founded a fund in New York for similar colonization in the United States, and another in Galicia for relief and education in the trades. Altogether, he gave away fully \$100,000,000 in these great enterprises. He helped untold thousands of Jews and pointed the way by which others could work and help themselves. But he proved at the same time that no one man could save the Jewish

people as a whole; the problem was too vast; there were millions in Russia, and only thousands could move to the new colonies.

Baron Edmund de Rothschild followed the same plan in his philanthropies in Palestine by helping the new colonies to gain a footing, and supporting them with his generosity exactly as Hirsch did with the colonists in Argentine and the United States. But this brings us still a fourth method of facing the world, the new movement to found a Jewish nation in the ancient homeland of Palestine, which we shall discuss in the next chapter.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell how the Jews began to fit into modern life. Give examples.
2. Describe some challenges to the Jews in their new-won freedom.
3. What was anti-Semitism? Where did it begin? What was its purpose?
4. How did the Jews try to answer anti-Semitism? Mention four methods, with examples of each.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Resolved, that anti-Semitism in modern times is inevitable.
2. The life of Moses Montefiore. (A new biography by Paul Goodman is very interesting.)
3. The Jews and Socialism.
4. Bismark and the Jews.
5. The Dreyfus Case.
6. Albert Einstein, his life and work.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

Harris: Modern Jewish History, chap. 9.

Zangwill: Dreamers of the Ghetto; the sketch, The People's Savior, is a picture of Lasalle.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

Margolis and Marx: Chap. 93.

Raisin: Chap. 1.

Sachar: Chap. 7; chap. 9, sections A and B.

G. B. Stern: *The Matriarch*, a novel with a fine picture of modern international Jews.

Fleg: *Jewish Anthology*, pp. 277-291; 304-317.

Abbott: *Israel in Europe*, chap. 23.

Lazare: *Anti-Semitism*, a book by a champion of Dreyfus.

Leroy-Beaulieu: *Israel among the Nations*, a splendid defense and analysis of the Jews by a non-Jew, a French economist.

XVII.

ZIONISM, A NEW HOPE FOR THE JEW

1. **The Hope That Never Died.** If you were to attend a meeting of Zionists or Young Judeans in any part of the world you would be sure to hear them singing the "Hatikvah," either at the beginning or the close of their meeting. "Hatikvah" is the national hymn of the Jew the world over. It was written by Imber, a little-known Hebrew poet, and means "the hope," since it expresses the undying hope of the Jewish wanderer through his long exile—the hope of the return to Palestine.

In our Story of the Jew we have seen how the landless people never forgot their first home. Under the willows of Babylon they wept when they remembered Zion. As long as the rabbis were allowed to teach in the Palestinian Academies, Jews from all over the world sent gifts for their support; centuries later Elijah Gaon reinstituted the Chalukah-collections to support the scholars of Palestine. From peaceful and friendly Spain, Judah Halevi and Nachmanides followed the long, hard road which led to ruined Jerusalem. Judah Halevi longed, as he tells us in his great Ode to Zion, to weep over the holy stones of the broken Temple; Nachmanides hoped to gather together a minyan (the ten Jews required for public prayer) within the deserted city of David.

Those Jews who could not journey to the Land of Israel never failed to turn their eyes in its direction as they prayed

for the upbuilding of Zion; many of them were laid away for their last sleep with a tiny bag of the earth of Palestine beneath their heads. Year after year at their Seder tables these exiles declared longingly in the midst of their Pass-over rejoicing: "Next year in Jerusalem!"

It is impossible for us, Jews of today, in safe and pleasant America, to realize how much the wretched inhabitants of the Ghettos of Europe longed to return to Palestine. When the false Messiah, Shabbatai Zevi appeared, the one hope which flared with renewed brightness in all Jewish hearts was the speedy restoration of Jerusalem. Even in modern England, a Jew like Benjamin Disraeli, reared as a Christian, wrote with love and longing of the home-land of his people. While Sir Moses Montefiore actually made seven journeys to the land of Israel, the last one when he was a man of over ninety, that he might see with his own eyes the long deserted "Holy Land" blooming into new life.

From the earliest times to our own day these Pilgrims to Palestine have crossed the rocky hills that lay about Jerusalem. At first they came to weep and pray at the ruined Wall where once the Temple stood; later they came to devote their lives to the study of the Law, since it is said that the very air of Palestine gives wisdom to the man who breathes it; at last came workers with spades and hoes and trowels in their hands, ready to plant and to build. The hope which never died grew stronger and stronger. No wonder that the pioneers named one of their little villages Petach Tikvah! Jessie Sampter, an American poet, now living in Palestine, writes:

I know a little village
That's called the Gate of Hope.
It lies in blessed Palestine
Upon a gentle slope.

Its orange trees are golden,
As golden as the day,
And singing Hebrew melodies,
Its happy children play.

But silent in the graveyard,
The bones of heroes sleep
Who died to build this Gate of Hope
That others live to keep.

When all the singing children
Have grown to man's estate,
Will then, at last, the Hope come true
Where they have built the Gate?

2. Early Builders in Modern Times. These pioneers (Chalutzim, as they are called in Hebrew), formed at first a small, later a mighty army, that went to Palestine to win back the land for the Jewish people. The bravest and most devoted army in the world cannot conquer unless it possesses wise and whole-hearted generals. Fortunately for the Jews, such leaders were sent to guide these modern builders in their work, just as Ezra and Nehemiah had guided the restorers of Zion after the return from the Babylonian captivity.

We have space to name only a few of these far-seeing souls, who dreamed and planned and built for our people through the latter half of the nineteenth century. A Jew born in Germany, Moses Hess, came first. He had been an internationalist, one who believed that all men should try to be citizens of the world, instead of devoting their interests to their own particular country. But gradually he realized that unless the scattered Jewish people considered themselves a nation, they would surely be lost. He also knew that the Jews who forsook Judaism were heartily despised not only by Jews but by Christians as well.

In his very important book, "Rome and Jerusalem," Hess urged his people to express themselves as Jews. It seemed best to Hess that the Jews, whom he still considered a nation, should live again in Palestine as a political people. Another pioneer thinker in this field was the Russian, Dr. Leo Pinsker. His "Auto-Emancipation" pleads with the Jewish people to free themselves; but he believes that they cannot do this until they begin to build again their own home in Palestine.

This zeal for Palestine spread like flame throughout Europe, especially among the young Jewish students in Russia. These youths were stirred by the sufferings of their people; the Haskalah movement, of which you have already read, inspired in them a love of Jewish culture which they felt could best be developed in Palestine. The "Choveve Zion" (Lovers of Zion) society was formed to acquire Palestinian land for Jewish colonists.

A group of Russian students and professional men united under the name "Bilu," composed of the initial Hebrew letters of the old prayer, "House of Jacob, Come and Let us go." They were true to their motto; many of them were obliged to give up their studies and their life work; others left their families behind them. Palestine was then a frightful wilderness; these men, accustomed to life in a modern city, faced the hardest toil as farmers in a country made barren by Arab robbers and disease. But they did not falter. In 1882 they founded Rishon-le-Zion; this colony bore a very proud name—"the First in Zion." There was already the farm-school colony of Mikveh Israel—Hope of Israel—supported by the charity of the Alliance Israelite. But these bold spirits rightly felt that they deserved the honor of calling themselves the first real Jewish pioneers of modern times.

The story of these pioneers, the Pilgrim Fathers of our People, has been written again and again in the modern chapters of the Story of the Jew. It forms one of the most beautiful and heroic pages of our history. The generous help of Baron Edmund de Rothschild saved these first struggling farmers from ruin. But it was a long and hard struggle. They sickened and died until the dead were more than the living. Only an iron will, a matchless devotion to the land which their fathers could never forget, kept these modern Maccabees in the trenches. As steadfast as the bravest warriors and martyrs of a much-tried race, they fought hunger and disease and despair—until they conquered.

But some Jews felt that it was not enough just to settle in Palestine. Asher Ginzberg, the Hebrew writer of Russia, better known by his pen name of Ahad Ha'am (one of the people) believed that it was just as important for the Jews to build up their inner life, to develop the Hebrew language and Jewish art and Jewish learning. It seemed better to him to found a center for Jewish scholars in Palestine than to develop farm colonies. The society, Sons of Moses, that he founded, exerted much influence in building up a truly Jewish culture in the Jewish homeland by fostering a Hebrew press and the Gymnasium (High School) at Jaffa.

A man who gave his life in carrying out this idea of Jewish culture was Eliezar Ben Yehudah. Like the pioneers of Bilu he went to Palestine in 1882. Like Ahad Ha'am he felt that more than a land was needed to hold together a long-scattered people. The Hebrew language had long been one of the strongest ties which held the Jews together. In every land, no matter what tongue the Jew had learned from his neighbors, he still prayed in the lan-

guage of his fathers. In every country of his far-flung exile, for a Jew to be learned meant that he was wise in Hebrew Law. Ben Yehudah (who had renamed himself Son of Judah to express his devotion to his people) wanted to make Hebrew a living tongue as well as the language of the schoolroom. He did not want the settlers among whom he had come to live in Palestine, to think of it as a dead language like Latin and Greek; he wanted Hebrew to be spoken on the streets and in the homes; to be the actual every-day language of the Jew who had returned to Zion.

The very people who had sacrificed so much to work for Palestine turned against him. They felt that Hebrew was in all ways what it has long been called by the Jew, a "holy tongue"; they considered it wrong to use the language of prayer in the farm colonies or in the market place. They clung to Yiddish, the language which had grown dear to them in their wanderings. But Ben Yehudah did not falter even though his life and his family were actually threatened, and he was cut off from his people whom he loved so dearly. Like Spinoza, the gentle Jewish philosopher before him, he went on quietly studying and laboring for what he considered the truth. For forty years he worked from five in the morning until midnight on his monumental work, a modern Hebrew dictionary in ten volumes, which should make Hebrew a modern living tongue.

He spoke only Hebrew himself; he taught it to his wife and later to his children. Little by little those who hated and opposed him were silenced; by the time he died, worn out by his long, unbroken labors for his people, he had seen his dearest dreams come true. The government had recognized Hebrew as one of the official languages of Palestine, along with Arabic and English. Best of all, from

the kindergartens to the highest classes in the ever-growing schools of Palestine, Hebrew was the language of the people.

Another worker who carried out Ahad Ha'am's belief in Jewish culture was Boris Schatz. Born in Roumania, he studied art in Paris and later came to Palestine to create a new Jewish art on Jewish soil. In his school at Jerusalem, named after Bezalel, the first Jewish artist mentioned in the Bible, Boris Schatz trained Jews from every corner of the world to become Jewish artists. Perhaps you have seen, or may even own some lovely object from the Bezalel School—an olive wood paper weight decorated with camels, or a bit of lace of oriental design, or a rug decorated with palm trees; all were made by these young Jewish artists. This was also pioneer work. For the first time since the Romans burned the Temple, the Jews were creating an art of their own, not only on their own land but one reflecting the colors and the life of Palestine and the genius of the Jew.

You must not think that this New Palestine was built quickly. Just as the pioneers from Babylon brought brick by brick to build new walls about Jerusalem, these modern Jews labored to recreate the Old-New Land. Their work, which really began with the settling of the colony of Rishon Le Zion in 1882, interrupted only by the World War, continues to our very day. But long and faithfully as these pioneers toiled, both on the soil and in the library, their work might have resulted in naught had it not been for the splendid dream, which Theodore Herzl dreamed—and willed to make it true.

3. Theodore Herzl—Founder of Modern Zionism. Although Theodore Herzl was given a Jewish education and grew up in a Jewish home, during his student days in Vienna he was not especially interested in Judaism. He

graduated in law, but never practiced it; while still a young man he became a successful writer, both for the stage and the newspapers. Herzl was in Paris as a newspaper writer during the Dreyfus trial; at that time he began to feel himself one with the Jewish people; life was never the same to him again.

The year 1894 when Dreyfus, a captain in the French army, suffered persecution for his Judaism, saw the beginning of the modern Zionist movement. Dreyfus had been accused of the worst crime of which a soldier could be guilty—of acting as a spy and betraying the military secrets of his country to the enemy. Not only Jews, but many prominent gentiles, among them Zola, the great French novelist, came to his defense in later years. But the enemies of Dreyfus and of the Jewish people were triumphant. In order to shield the real traitor, who afterwards was revealed and committed suicide, these anti-Semites brought about the conviction and punishment of the Jewish captain. Before being sent to Devil's Island for life imprisonment, he was led out to an open square in Paris; in view of a great crowd, the buttons were torn from his uniform, his sword broken. Banished to his island prison, the martyred Dreyfus was dead to the world that had falsely condemned him; but in the heart of Theodore Herzl the ever-living Jewish spirit was reborn.

4. **The Jewish State.** In Herzl's eyes not one miserable victim alone had suffered before the jeering crowd in the Paris square; in Dreyfus he saw pictured not only the Jews of France but the Jews of the entire world. Herzl realized that if this terrible injustice to a Jew could take place in liberty-loving France, no Jew could call himself safe in any country. He began to study conditions among the Jews in Eastern Europe; he inquired into the persecutions which

were driving thousands of frightened refugees from Russia to America as a haven.

Herzl asked himself as Hess and Pinsker had asked before him: "What can be done to save my people?" Although he did not know the works of either of these men, he came to the same solution when he wrote what later proved to be the most important Jewish book of modern times: his *Judenstaat* (the Jewish State). It was published in 1896. In this book Herzl declares that the Jews must have a state, a country of their own, not only as a refuge from persecution, but also to strengthen their own self respect in order that they might feel themselves equal to all the nations of the world. This was Herzl's creed; he gave the rest of his life to making the words he had written come true.

5. The Obstacles Herzl Faced. Next, Herzl called a Congress to form a Zionist organization. It could not be held in Munich as he had first planned; many German Jews, like many other Jews all over the world, were bitterly opposed to Herzl's idea of a Jewish nation. From France, from Italy, from America arose the cry: "We Jews are happy in our adopted countries, which we now call our own. We are Frenchmen, Italians, Americans, bound to Jews in other parts of the world only by one tie—the Jewish religion. We are no longer a nation." These anti-nationalists were as sincere in their beliefs as Herzl was in his; they were against nationalism because they truly believed that it would be better for the world, and for all Jewry if they only tried to be good citizens in the countries of their adoption, differing from their neighbors in nothing but their religion.

Even in the lands of the bitterest persecutions of the Jew, such as Russia and Poland, there was an outcry

against Zionism. Here pious Jews raised their eyes from their holy books to curse Herzl for his daring. They said that God in His own good time would send the long-promised Messiah for Israel. Dared any mortal plan how and when he would lead his people back to Zion? While practical Jewish business men the world over were just as outraged. They called Herzl an impractical dreamer, a writer who tried to be a statesman, and talked of performing miracles as no Jew had ever done before. They spoke of Herzl as a second Shabbatai Zevi, a modern false Messiah, ready to delude the Jewish people with mad hopes and leave them even more unfortunate in the end than they had been before. Instead of a redeemer, they believed Herzl to be a real enemy of the Jewish people.

Even within the ranks of the Zionists there were many who opposed this sorely tried leader. Jews like Ahad Ha'am were far more interested in preparing the Jewish people culturally for Palestine than in securing Palestine itself. Other Jews, although very anxious to have a state of their own, were not willing to wait until Palestine could be secured from the Turks as a home for the Jewish people. "Some of our people are being butchered in Russia!" they cried. "Others are oppressed in Roumania and Poland. Any land—any territory should be our goal, whether it be in Africa or South America. We cannot afford to wait until Palestine is opened to the Jew."

The leader of these Territorialists, as they were called, was Israel Zangwill, one of the most picturesque figures in modern Jewish life. If you have read his stories of the Children of the Ghetto, their sad tales and their happy ones, studied the lives of his Dreamers, or laughed at his King of Schnorrers, I need not tell you that he is the leading Jewish writer who has ever written in English about Jew-

ish life. He was also an earnest Jewish scholar; you may have seen some of his fine translations of our old Hebrew hymns in the prayer book. But he was willing to steal time from his writing and his studies to urge the Jews of the world to care for their brethren who needed a refuge. Although for a while he was strongly in favor of immediate colonization outside of Palestine, in earlier years he had been a true friend to Herzl, whom he first introduced to England. Until his recent death he never forgot his love for the Land of Israel.

6. What Herzl Accomplished. But in spite of all this opposition from both friend and foe, Herzl did not falter. At this first Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, he laid the foundations of political Zionism.

During the Middle Ages pious Jews in their many lands of exile had wept and prayed for the Return to the land of Israel. In later days old men had journeyed to Palestine to study, younger men to till the soil; others had tried to create a Palestine for the Jew by building up Hebraic culture. Now for the first time since the Temple fell in the year 70 C. E., Jews from all over the world gathered together and pledged themselves to assist Herzl in his almost unbelievable ambition. He stated this ambition clearly in the first paragraphs of the Basle Program: "Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine."

Every word was carefully chosen: "publicly" meant that the Jews should no longer steal back into the land of their fathers, as Herzl himself put it; "legally assured" called for a promise to the new builders that they would be allowed to build safely for the future of Palestine and the Jewish people, instead of being unjustly taxed or misgoverned by the Turks.

But how to accomplish these high aims? Herzl knew that the courage and the spirit of his followers, many of them persecuted Jews from Eastern Europe praying for and seeking a home, was not enough. Little by little through the Congress which met regularly, one after another of the great steps for restoring Palestine to the Jewish people was accomplished. In 1901, for example, the Jewish National Fund was formed to buy Palestinian land for Jewish settlers unable to purchase their own; this land was to belong to no one person but to the Jewish people forever. He also founded the Jewish Colonial Trust Company, a bank to handle Zionist financial affairs. All over the world groups of devoted Jews were formed, like the Choveve Zion before them, eager to send money to build up the homeland or to prepare themselves for Jewish leadership by the study of Hebrew and Jewish history. Herzl himself, worn out with speaking and writing for the cause he loved, traveled from land to land pleading with the Pope, the German Kaiser, the Sultan of Turkey, and a cabinet minister of the dreaded Russian Czar, for promises of protection and friendliness to the evergrowing group of settlers in Palestine.

Although he had the satisfaction of seeing his movement grow into new strength and vigor even in his lifetime, Herzl himself, however, was not spared to see what his wonderful vision and devotion had accomplished. In 1904, wearied from his many tasks, discouraged over the failures in colonization in Palestine, disappointed and hurt because of the many cruel criticisms he had to bear, Theodore Herzl died at the early age of forty-four. It was just nine short years after he had first caught his vision of a Jewish nation reborn in Palestine.

No one could ever take Herzl's place in the hearts of the Jewish people who knew and loved him; but there were other hands ready to seize the torch which had fallen from his tired fingers; Max Nordau, the French writer, was one; David Wolfson, who after Herzl's death became president of the World Zionist Congress, was another. To Wolfson was given the honor of speaking at the fallen leader's grave; he said little. Telling the many mourners that Herzl had wished no words of praise to be spoken over his tomb, Wolfson raised his right hand, as Herzl had done at that first Congress in Basle, and repeated the ancient oath of the Jewish people that Herzl had pledged that day: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning." Herzl had given his very life to keep that pledge made by the Babylonian exiles so long ago. Now his followers vowed to keep it also, and as the mighty multitude repeated the words, they wept.

In the years that followed the death of Herzl, his followers were true to their promise. But ten years later the World War swept across the world. For a while it seemed that the new life which was slowly but beautifully blooming in Palestine, would be stamped out. The Turks suspected the Zionist colonists of being friendly to the English invaders; with the rest of the population these Jewish settlers had to face the loss of farm-stock and crops to keep the Turkish army supplied. Money which had flowed in a never failing stream from Eastern Europe was now cut off; these Jews were themselves beggared by the war; those who survived the shock of invading armies, with their pillagings and their pogroms, were now madly fleeing from place to place in search of a refuge. The dream of a safe home in the land of Israel had faded during

the war. There was left to the weary Wanderer only one hope—America.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Describe the feeling toward Palestine since the Jews left the land.
2. How did the modern thought of the Jews as a nation begin? How did the Jewish colonization in Palestine begin?
3. What was cultural Zionism? Give examples of it.
4. Tell the part of Theodore Herzl in the modern Zionist movement.
5. What was territorialism? What were its reasons? Why did it not succeed?
6. What was the platform of the Zionist Congress? Explain it.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Resolved, that Zionism will solve the Jewish problem for the Jews not living in Palestine.
2. Moses Hess: Rome and Jerusalem, a book review.
3. Read the Jewish State, and give its central idea.
4. Read some of the Essays of Ahad Ha'am (English translation by Jewish Publication Society) and discuss their meaning.
5. The life and work of Theodore Herzl.
6. The life and public work of Israel Zangwill.

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XVIII.

AMERICA BECOMES A JEWISH CENTER

1. The Russian Jews Arrive in America. We have seen the humble beginnings of Jewish life in the United States; how through the influx of German Jews there grew up a small but important Jewish community, with its leaders, its synagogues and other Jewish institutions. This early growth had always included a few Jews from Russia. Now, beginning with 1881, we shall see this group transformed into a great mass of Jews, numbered by the millions, gaining more and more influence and power until, now, after the World War, it is practically at the head of the Jews of the world, the modern successor to ancient Babylonia, medieval Spain, and Poland of the Ghetto age.

We have also seen how the persecutions grew more and more terrible for the Jews of eastern Europe, especially for those in the great and barbarous Empire of the Czars. Every time a new anti-Jewish law was passed, every time a new outrage or pogrom took place, there was a new migration of Jews out of Russia. Where did they go? Anywhere they could; to western Europe, the Argentine, Palestine, and most of all, to the United States. They were aided sometimes by great Jewish philanthropists like Baron Maurice de Hirsch; sometimes by their friends and relatives, who had fled from Russia before them and had saved a little money. Most often they managed the long, difficult trip aided only by their own courage and their own

hope. During the forty years, beginning with the pogrom of 1881 and the May Laws of 1882, over two million Jews of Russia and the nearby countries of eastern Europe, entered the United States.

These immigrants usually came with their families, for they came here to stay. They included every class of the Jewish population of Russia, for there were so few Jews in a favored position there that they were of little significance. These Russian Jews made in their own short lives the leap from medieval to modern life, which has taken the rest of the world four hundred years of slow and patient climbing. For Russia had never gone through the Renaissance and the modern period. And the Jew in Russia had never experienced the period of enlightenment and emancipation as the Jew in France and Germany; he was still shut up in his Pale with his intensely Jewish life.

The Russian Jews came to America glowing with hope for a new life in the New World. Most of them were miserably poor when they arrived; but they speedily learned English, became American citizens, and began to earn a living. They did not all go into business; many thousands of them became working men who went into the factories of New York and other cities. They were crowded together in the East Side of New York in what was often called the Ghetto. At first these working people underwent great hardships in New York, toiling in sweatshops, crowded together in great tenement houses, very poor and very unhappy. Many of them went into the garment trades, making men's and women's clothes, until these became practically Jewish industries.

This brought two results, the philanthropy of the German Jews who wanted to help their poor immigrant brothers from Russia, and the organizations of the Russian

Jews to help themselves. Such men as Jacob H. Schiff, the banker, gave very large sums of money, at first to provide the necessities of life, later, to Americanize the Russian Jews. Efforts were made to scatter these Jews, especially on farms, efforts which met with some success, but never did affect the great mass. Then the Russian Jews began to found their own organizations, for religion, education, and also labor unions. They began to object to being objects of charity to anybody; they did not want to become like the German Jews in America but to cultivate their own ways of living. The latest stage of Jewish life in America, which began during the World War, is that of union for common causes; this promises to bring the various groups of Jews together once more as a united household of Israel.

The distinction of Russian Jewish life was that it had always existed as a special Jewish nation, with its own language, education and courts in Poland and Russia. Now in America there were founded Yiddish newspapers, theatres, and a whole literature in the Yiddish language. The larger part of the Russian Jews were strictly orthodox. They founded their little synagogues and established an extensive system of Hebrew education, far more complete than the one-day-a-week religious schools of the reform congregations, and far more modern than the tiny schools for private instruction with which they had begun.

The smaller part of the Russian Jews were radicals, so they founded a socialist newspaper in Yiddish, the *Forward*, and organized unions to fight for their rights and to destroy the terrible sweatshop conditions under which they had lived at first. This meant a fierce struggle during the 90's. But the workingmen won, and their great unions to-day are among the most important and progressive in

America. Moreover, the Russian Jews considered themselves a distinct nation; they welcomed the new teaching of Zionism when it was launched in 1896, for they knew anti-Semitism in its most terrible form, and they felt the national consciousness of the Jew within their own hearts.

2. What They Accomplished in the New World. The growth of the Russian Jew in America repeated that of the German Jew in many respects, though not in all. He also acquired some wealth, though more slowly. He became accustomed to American ways; his children studied law and medicine; occasionally he went into politics.

One special accomplishment of the Russian Jews was the growth of orthodox and conservative Judaism in America. Many of the German Jews had remained conservative and great numbers of the newcomers joined this group. Their rabbinical school, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, was organized in New York City ten years after the Hebrew Union College. Still ten years later, came the strictly orthodox Rabbinical Seminary of America, also in New York, which was rapidly becoming the greatest Jewish city in the world. A great step forward was taken by the Jewish Theological Seminary when it invited the great European scholar, Dr. Solomon Schechter, from the University of Cambridge, England, to become its president.

The reform temples were not weakened, for they were growing constantly in size and numbers; but these other groups, however, were keeping up with them. Both the conservative and orthodox groups organized their unions of congregations, their conferences of rabbis, their educational and religious activities; now all three are fully equipped to do Jewish work under American conditions.

In the same way the Russian Jews were the group that established Zionism in America, even though many of the Zionist leaders were of the older, German immigration, such as Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, Judge Julian Mack of the United States Circuit Court, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. From the very beginning of the movement at Basle there was a Zionist party in America. This has grown through the events of the World War and after, until it now is among the most powerful factors in American Jewish life.

3. Some Interesting Jews of this Period. During this period of forty years many individual Jews have risen to prominence in American life, entirely too many for us to even list here. They appear in every field of literature, art, business, science, philanthropy and public life. One of the most interesting was Emma Lazarus, the New York Jewess of old Sephardic stock, who aroused so much admiration with her poetry that even Emerson commended her work. Her early poems were simply imitations of European and English poets, well done but not remarkable. But when the great pogroms of the 80's began and the Russian Jews began to pour into America, Emma Lazarus felt her kinship with these unhappy sons of Israel. She began to write those fine poems about the great men of Jewish history, the Jewish festivals, and the Jewish oppression, which make her name live today. A sonnet of Emma Lazarus, cast in bronze, was placed at the base of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, where we may read the touching words of the Jewish girl glorifying the welcome which America extended to the victims of the Old World:

"Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

The greatest contrast to this delicate poet was David Lubin, the huge, unschooled man who had learned his manners in an Arizona mining camp, but who talked to kings and convinced them of his wisdom. David Lubin was born in Russia in 1849, was brought to this country as an infant, and lived an adventurous life, running away from home to cross the continent in the rough pioneer days. He opened a store in Sacramento, Calif., and succeeded in making a fortune. But instead of trying to increase his wealth, he turned to public work. He was interested in state and national problems, especially where they concerned the farmers, on whom, he believed, depended the wealth and safety of the nation. Lubin finally decided that the problems of the farmers, who produce the food of the world, are world-wide, and can be met only by international co-operation. So he went to Europe and proceeded to meet and convince the leaders of the various nations.

If it is surprising to see Herzl the writer meet the Kaiser, Sultan and Pope in behalf of the Jewish people, it is still more amazing to watch this merchant from California talking to the highest diplomats and officials of Europe, not on a Jewish but on a world problem. The King of Italy was the first to agree with him, and called a meeting of the representatives of many nations to found an International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. David Lubin was the first American representative at this Institute, serving for ten years. The importance of the Institute with its forty-five member nations appears in the fact that it was the first permanent international organization in the world and the only international effort to continue throughout the World War. David Lubin loved the Jewish prophets, with their great message of peace and justice for all peoples; he felt that his work was a step in carrying out their teachings,

While David Lubin was engaged in this effort, another Jew, Samuel Gompers, became the greatest leader of the working men of America, and a third, Oscar S. Straus, an important American diplomat and statesman. Gompers was born in England and began life as a workingman himself. His ability as an organizer and his devotion to the cause of the laboring men made him their leader; he was president of the American Federation of Labor for forty years, the leader of millions of Americans, responsible for many laws in their favor, their general in dozens of strikes by which they fought their way upward. Even in his old age he continued to be the fiery little man, always ready to do battle for the cause of labor.

Oscar S. Straus was German born, a lawyer and author, interested in Jewish affairs from his youth. His autobiography, "Under Four Administrations," is a most interesting book in itself and especially important for the history it tells. Three times Oscar Straus was appointed to represent the United States in Turkey; he was Secretary of Commerce and Labor in President Roosevelt's cabinet; for twenty-four years he was one of the four American representatives at the permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. All through his long and useful life, which cast credit on his people and won the highest honors for himself, he was the cultured gentleman and diplomat.

We have seen how the United States adopted the rule of religious freedom, and how many of its leaders beginning with Washington were personally friendly toward the Jews. The American government many times in its history defended Jewish rights abroad, particularly in Turkey in 1840, in Roumania in 1878 and 1902, in Russia in 1879, 1903 and in 1911. When, in 1902, Roosevelt was president and John Hay secretary of state, some terrific persecutions

occurred in Roumania. Mr. Hay sent a strong protest, not only to Roumania, but to all the powers which had signed the treaty of Berlin that had originally guaranteed Jewish rights there. The following year, after the Kishineff massacre in Russia, a protest signed by thousands of prominent Americans was sent by the president to the Czar of Russia on behalf of the Jews of that land.

But the strongest defense of Jews, naturally, was not for foreign Jews in their native lands, but for American citizens, whether Jews or non-Jews. For many years Russia had not honored passports from American citizens if they happened to be Jews. This was, of course, a violation of American law and of the treaty between the two countries, but repeated protests could not force a change. At last, in 1911, Congress passed a resolution directing President Taft to abrogate the old commercial treaty of 1832 with Russia until such time as that country would honor the American passport. It was the greatest possible step in defense of American citizenship, and the greatest proof of the equality of Jews in America.

5. Anti-Semitism Invades America. For this reason it is all the more surprising to find an example of European anti-Semitism in America after the World War. The infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were published in an English translation and their accusations of a Jewish conspiracy to rule the world were actually believed by some Americans. The Ku Klux Klan, which was organized in 1915 in Georgia, maintained that white, gentile, Protestant and American-born people were the only true Americans and opposed strongly Jews, Catholics, Negroes, and the foreign-born. After 1920 the Klan became powerful in the politics of a number of states, both north and south, and exercised considerable influence. But its power

steadily declined, laws compelled the order to remove the masks which insured secrecy for law-breakers, and by 1926, it became merely another fraternal order, like dozens of others in America.

Another high point of anti-Semitism was its furtherance by Henry Ford, the Detroit manufacturer of automobiles and probably the richest man in the world. In his weekly paper, the Dearborn Independent, Mr. Ford authorized the publication of a long series of articles which accepted the false charges of the Protocols and attacked the Jews in business, politics and the theatre. These were also reprinted in books, entitled *The International Jew*. Finally, in 1926, Mr. Ford was sued for a million dollars by Aaron Sapiro, a Jew whose work in organizing farmers' cooperative societies had been attacked and damaged by such libel. Mr. Sapiro was helping to realize one of the dreams of David Lubin in his work, and defended it ably in court. The trial was stopped without a decision, but afterward Mr. Ford apologized to Mr. Sapiro personally and to the Jewish people as a whole, through Louis Marshall, the president of the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. Ford wrote: "I deem it to be my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellow-men and brothers, by asking their forgiveness for the harm that I have unintentionally committed, by retracting so far as lies within my power the offensive charges laid at their door by these publications, and by giving them the unqualified assurance that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and goodwill." Thus the threat of anti-Semitism in America turned out to be only a passing phase.

However, it led to the cessation of Jewish immigration. Those people who opposed all foreign immigration, those

who were prejudiced against the Jews, and those working-men who feared that more immigrants might endanger their jobs or their standard of living, combined to pass laws restricting the numbers of immigrants. The first of these was passed in 1921, the latest and most severe in 1924. From that time on Jewish immigration into the United States has played a minor part in the life of American Jews. From 1880 it had been the most important factor of all; now its influence is negligible. American Jews must now live their own life, and work out their own problems without aid or interference from abroad.

6. Jewish Unity in the United States. There have been several attempts in the past to bring about this unity of Jews in America, but never with success. The Jews from Spain, Germany and Russia; the orthodox, conservative and reform; the Zionist and anti-Zionist; the religious and the radical Jews, each had their own ideas and none would give them up for a common purpose. So we see religious, charitable, educational movements, each carried on by the people who were especially interested in it, but never by all the Jews together. Even in defense of the Jewish name, they would not all join, until the forces of history welded them together for common defense.

In 1906, as one of the results of the Kishineff massacre, a number of leading American Jews convened to form the American Jewish Committee, which could speak for all in times of need. The men composing this Committee are real leaders; their president, Mr. Louis Marshall, is an active and devoted Jew, who has the right to represent his people. But this Committee was not elected by the mass of the Jewish people; very few Russians were members of it, so there was naturally much criticism; in 1919 this criticism resulted in the election of an American Jewish

Congress. This Congress was an elected body, even though far from a majority of the Jews voted for its members; this time the orthodox and the Zionists were strongly represented. It sent delegates to the Peace Conference at Paris, received their reports, and then reorganized; at present it is a second body representing American Jews, and doing much the same work as the American Jewish Committee.

The only time all the Jews of America participated in any one piece of work was during and since the World War, in the Joint Distribution Committee for the relief of Jewish war sufferers. Orthodox, reform and radical Jews joined in this one effort for the first time, with Mr. Felix M. Warburg of New York, a successor of Jacob H. Schiff in business and philanthropy, as president. During ten years, from 1914 to 1924, this body sent abroad \$59,000,000 raised by Jews, and contributed by the Jews and non-Jews of America. In one year Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, a generous giver for many causes, donated a million dollars to the Joint Distribution Committee. This great work not only saved many lives in Europe and Asia; it may also prove the basis of Jewish unity in America.

For the many different groups of American Jews are steadily growing nearer to one another. The results of their growth, the results of the World War, the ceasing of immigration, the common purpose and common need of the Jews, are becoming evident. Some day they may grow to understand one another completely and to join together for the many purposes in which all Jews are as one.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Link the chapter on the Jews of Russia with this one on the Jews of America.
2. Describe the Russian Jews in America.
3. What were their special institutions?

4. Mention three important Jews of this period; why were they important?
5. Tell how the United States defended the Jews abroad.
6. Give the brief episode of anti-Semitism in the United States.
7. Tell of the efforts which have been made to unify the American Jews.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Resolved, that the stopping of immigration is a benefit to the Jews of the United States.
2. The Jews and the American Labor Movement.
3. The Ku Klux Klan and the Jews.
4. Report on Mary Antin: The Promised Land, the life story of a little Jewish girl who came to America from Russia.
5. Jewish educational institutions in America.
6. The Jews and Americanization.

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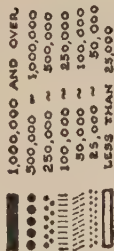
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DENSITY OF JEWISH POPULATION IN EUROPE ~1927

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK - 1928-1929



XIX.

THE WORLD WAR AND THE JEWS

1. Why the World War was so Important to the Jews.

In our Story of the Jew we have now come to another of the great dates that stand out, centuries apart, as turning points for the entire story. Such a date was 586 B. C. E. (the Babylonian Captivity), or 70 C. E. (the destruction of Jerusalem); another was 1040 (the beginning of Spain as a Jewish world center); such was 1492 (the expulsion from Spain). Perhaps 1917 was the most important date since 70; certainly, it was as significant as 1492, when the Jewry of Spain came to an end and the leadership of the Jews of the world shifted to the Ghettos of Germany and Poland.

The World War destroyed many of the Jewish centers of Eastern Europe in that broad band of Jewish settlement that stretched across the map from Lithuania on the North Sea down through Poland, Galicia, the Ukraine and Roumania, on to Constantinople. Here lived over half the Jews in the world; here were the great centers of Jewish learning; here the Jews still lived an intensely Jewish life. But the war changed all that, and shifted the center of Jewish life far to the west, to America, and far to the east, to Palestine.

The World War and its aftermath was also a period of Jewish persecution unequalled in horror since 1648 in the Ukraine; unequalled in the number of its victims and in the number of lands affected by any of the tragic episodes in our entire Story. The migration of Jewish masses caused by this

war was greater than any other in history, if one may except that gradual movement of millions to America, which had continued steadily from 1881 to 1914.

The World War caused a complete change in the position of the Jews of Russia from oppression to the freedom of a Communist state. In Poland and the other lands of eastern Europe this change resulted from the guarantee of their rights in the peace treaties. Finally, it realized the dream of Theodore Herzl by giving the approval of the great Powers of the world to the building of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

These things were accomplished by the World War, together with many other interesting but less important events. Great and terrible as this war was, much as it changed the world as a whole, nowhere were its effects greater than upon the Jews.

2. What the Jews Did in the War. Of the fifteen million Jews of the world, over a million were in arms, fighting for the lands in which they dwelt. The American army had over 200,000 Jewish soldiers, the Russian army over 500,000, and the others in proportion. Jews fought and died for Germany, Austria, England, France, Italy, and Roumania. Jews were rewarded by all these countries for their courage on the field of battle or for their ability and devotion in counsel. Three American Jews won the rarest decoration of all, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for their exceptional heroism on the field of battle. In Germany, where the anti-Semites had been able to prevent the Jews from attaining places of honor, Jews were made army officers during the war. There were high ranking officers in many an army and navy, the highest of all being Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss of the United States Navy, and Lieutenant General Sir John Monash, commander of the Australian corps in France.

On every side we find Jewish patriotism, even for a country such as Russia, where little could be expected. This wide participation of Jews as soldiers brought an unusual Jewish activity in connection with many of the armies. The American Jews organized a Jewish Welfare Board to serve the Jewish soldiers and sailors; similar work went on in the German and several of the other armies. Jewish chaplains were appointed to accompany the troops to the field so that the Jews as well as the Christians had the solace of their own religion even in war. Altogether, the war record of the Jews was one of the most interesting phases in this important period.

3. What the War Did to the Jews. But, with all this loyalty, this fighting spirit, the Jews suffered more than any other people through the war; it was the most tragic of our many tragic tales during this long story. It matched the exile from Palestine or from Spain in sadness, the massacres during the Crusades in terror, and surmounted them all in numbers. For the Jewish belt of settlements in eastern Europe was directly in the path of the armies in the eastern war zone.

The Germans invaded—villages were destroyed, people fled, the roads were filled with homeless refugees. Then the Russians came—Jews were accused of spying for Germany, some were killed, others taken as hostages. The Germans again, or perhaps the Austrians—now the Russians evacuated entire areas without warning, and the helpless civilians wandered, without homes or food or a chance to settle down. The necessary horrors of war were increased by the bitterness of persecution. The Jewish soldiers in the various armies had to stand by and witness their own people accused, attacked and butchered. The Jewish belt of settlement was the center

of the fighting for four years of war, and for three more years after the war in western Europe was over!

The very worst pogroms, in fact, took place during this later period of turmoil and civil war. There was a Polish army, and the Poles were notorious for their hatred of the Jews. There were several armies fighting for the restoration of the Czars, fierce Cossacks who had been taught hatred of Jews from their childhood. There were nameless bands of outlaws and bandits, the product of the war and the revolution.

In this confusion, this bitterness of warfare, this hatred of foreigners and of different parties in one's own country, a wave of pogroms swept through the Ukraine and many other parts of eastern Europe. We hear of countless Jews frightfully tortured, then left to die by the roadside; of women hacked to pieces; of children forced to dig their own graves.

Many observers assert that a quarter of a million of Jews were actually killed in this orgy of slaughter, while as many more died of disease and starvation during these terrible years. The greater part of the Jews of eastern Europe lived in misery and fear. The greater part of the Jewish institutions—the schools, the academies, the synagogues, the courts—were broken down for the time, and many of them permanently destroyed.

The rescue of the Jews was a little thing compared with the dangers from which they were to be saved. Some escaped into the interior of Russia, away from the old Pale of settlement, and began to establish themselves there. Others were saved by the millions of dollars raised in America and sent to them through the Joint Distribution Committee. Charity is no substitute for the normal work, income, and living of a whole people. But in this case the need was

desperate, the charity generous, and many thousands were kept alive through those terrible times.

4. **The Jews at the Peace Conference.** When the Peace Conference met in Paris in 1919, the Jews sent their delegates from ten different countries to ask for some help from the makers of peace. The American Jews sent two delegations, one from the American Jewish Congress, the other from the American Jewish Committee. All these people met together; they decided that they would not work at cross purposes, but try to do what they could for the benefit of the Jewish people as a whole.

There were three kinds of help which the Jews wanted: protection from the pogroms that were still menacing them; rights in the various countries of eastern Europe; and a national home in Palestine. So the delegates conferred, visited the men who were writing the treaties, and gained their help, especially that of President Woodrow Wilson, who was a great friend of the oppressed and most fair to the Jews.

Both Great Britain and America appointed commissions to investigate the pogroms in Poland; it must have been a bitter humiliation to the Polish government that the chairmen of these two commissions were Jews, Sir Stuart Samuel of Great Britain, and Henry Morgenthau of the United States.

Then came the treaties by which Poland and other new countries should be recognized, and Roumania should receive new territory, in which lived many Jews. How could these Jews be protected from their own governments and from the prejudice of many of the people? Two ways were suggested. One was that they should be made citizens exactly like everyone else, as in the United States and the countries of western Europe. This always satisfied the Jews of these countries, and no Jew of America would want to have any rights except those ordinarily granted to an American citizen.

But the Jews of eastern Europe explained that the situation in their countries was different. They wanted minority rights as a Jewish group in Poland, Roumania and the various new nations. In each of these nations there is a majority people and several minorities. In Poland the Jews are one-seventh of the country, but there are other minorities composed of Germans, Russians and Czechs. So every country has several minority peoples, all of them possessing their own language, religion, and ancient history; they love these as much as the majority people loves the history of Poland or Roumania.

So the Jews of Eastern Europe felt the need of minority rights to protect them, the right to elect their own representatives in the national Parliaments, to observe the Jewish Sabbath, to conduct Jewish schools, and other rights like these. After a great deal of discussion they were finally written into the peace treaties, not for the Jews alone, but for all the minorities in all the nations of eastern Europe. The Jews, among the rest, were now officially protected in their rights by the great powers of the world.

Of course, it was impossible to watch every government and see that it really carried out its promises in the treaties. Poland and Roumania promptly made them useless by all sorts of special laws, or even by secret instructions to officials. The boycott went on, law courts ruled against Jews, students rioted to have the Jews kept out of the Universities. Nine years after the treaties were written (in 1928) Poland and the other nations were observing them reasonably, if not completely; Roumania was disregarding them altogether.

The third matter of great importance for the Jews was their hope for Palestine. You will read all about this in the next chapter. We need only note here that their request was granted by the makers of the peace treaties, and that

Great Britain was given control over the Land of Israel, with the agreement to establish there a Jewish national home.

5. What Happened in Soviet Russia. The Russian Revolution occurred in 1917. At a single stroke all the special laws against the Jews, with their network of rules, punishments and penalties for being a Jew, were abolished. Russia became a federation of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Jew was exactly the same as any other Russian. Many Jews joined the Bolshevik party for the same reasons that we have always found so many Jews in every liberal party, because of their personal sympathy and also because of their hope for Jewish freedom. The party of the Czar would never free the Jews—perhaps the party of the Revolution would do so.

One of them, Leon Trotsky, a Jew by birth, for several years was second only to Lenin in the Soviet government, completing the circle of Jewish accomplishment in other lands. The nineteenth century had seen a baptized Jew as prime minister of England, and Jews as ministers of France and Italy. The twentieth century saw four Jews as rulers over nations: Lord Reading as Viceroy of India, Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner of Palestine, Walter Rathenau as foreign minister of Germany after the World War, and now beheld a Jew as minister of war in the Russian Republic.

Naturally, the prominence of the few Jews in Revolutionary Russia was used as an accusation against the Jews who lived in Poland and elsewhere. Anti-Semites in Germany, Austria and Hungary used this argument in the White Terror which struck each of these nations and became especially terrible in the last. Much was made of it in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a ridiculous forgery which had appeared in Russia in 1905 and now was circulated again throughout Europe in various languages. This was alleged to contain

the minutes of a secret meeting of the heads of the Jewish people, planning to destroy the Christian nations so that they might rule the world. Of course, there never were any such elders; there never had been a meeting; the Jews had never planned to rule anybody. But many ignorant or prejudiced people believed these queer and terrible charges, and used Trotsky as evidence of their truth.

The Russian Revolution had two important effects on the Jews of Russia, beside giving them the rights of all other Russians. It endangered their livelihood and attacked their religion. In the Communistic state the most important people were supposed to be the peasants and the factory and brain workers, the least important the merchants and hand-workers. In fact, the government stores ruined many of the former, and the government factories many of the latter. And it just happened that these were the very lines of work the Jews had been forced to follow by the laws of the Czars. So there was a long period during which the Jews of Soviet Russia were very poor, numbers of them even starving, until many of them began to change their occupations, and a slightly changed policy of the government relieved others, though only a little. At first the Jews of Revolutionary Russia were freer and poorer than they had been under the Czars.

The second difficulty of the Russian Jews was that the new government stood definitely against all religion. It did not, like the Russian Orthodox Church of old days, try to force Jews away from their religion to join the Christian Church. But it thought all religions were untrue and unnecessary, and forbade the teaching of religion to children. Many people continued to attend synagogue; some even taught their children secretly, so that they might continue in the faith, just as in Spain under the Inquisition. The Russian government recognized Yiddish as the language of the Jews of Russia, just

as it recognized the languages of all the various peoples who live in that huge country; it disapproved of Hebrew because it was the holy tongue, the language of prayer, as well as the language of the Zionists. The Jews of Russia, no longer persecuted as Jews, still faced the double difficulty of making a living in this new Communistic system, and of preserving their own precious religion in the face of attack on all religions.

But Soviet Russia presents one hopeful movement which may change the whole trend of Jewish life in that country, the movement to settle Jews in farm colonies. This began about 1925 in the Crimea and Ukraine; new lands in Siberia were later allotted for the purpose. The Russian government allotted the land which it had confiscated from the nobles and great land owners to poor people to cultivate; in this way the Jews received their share in the new Russia. The money for machinery and food had to be furnished by the settlers themselves or by their friends. The Joint Distribution Committee in America assumed the task. We have spoken of their huge collections to relieve starvation. Of the great collection made since 1925, a large share was to go for this constructive work in Russia, the rest for Palestine and for relief in Poland and other lands.

By the beginning of 1927 there were 65,000 Jews settled on the land in Russia, and plans were on foot to colonize 5,000 families every year, taking these poor traders and working-men out of the crowded homes in the Russian Pale and giving them a chance to become farmers on the rich soil of southern Russia. In 1928 Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago was so impressed by the work that he offered to give \$5,000,000 toward a fund of several times that amount, which should pay for the movement towards the soil for five years more. In Russia, as in Palestine, the Jews are returning to farming,

which they left so many centuries ago. They are returning, not as random men or women here and there, but as whole bodies of Jews seeking a new life together.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What did the Jews do in the World War? As soldiers, statesmen, or otherwise?
2. Why was the World War important to the Jews?
3. Tell of the sufferings in eastern Europe.
4. What did the Jews accomplish at the Peace Conference of 1919 and how?
5. Tell about the war relief work. About colonization work.
6. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the Russian Revolution for the Russian Jews?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The American Jews in the World War.
2. The Samuel or the Morgenthau mission to Poland. On the latter, see Goodhart: Poland and the Minority Races, a story by a man who was on the staff of Mr. Morgenthau.
3. The destruction of Jewish life in eastern Europe. The destruction of Judaism and Jewish institutions. Two phases of the same topic.
4. Resolved, that colonization in Russia is more beneficial for the Russian Jews than colonization in Palestine.
5. A study of minority rights in eastern Europe, in general, and concerning the Jews.

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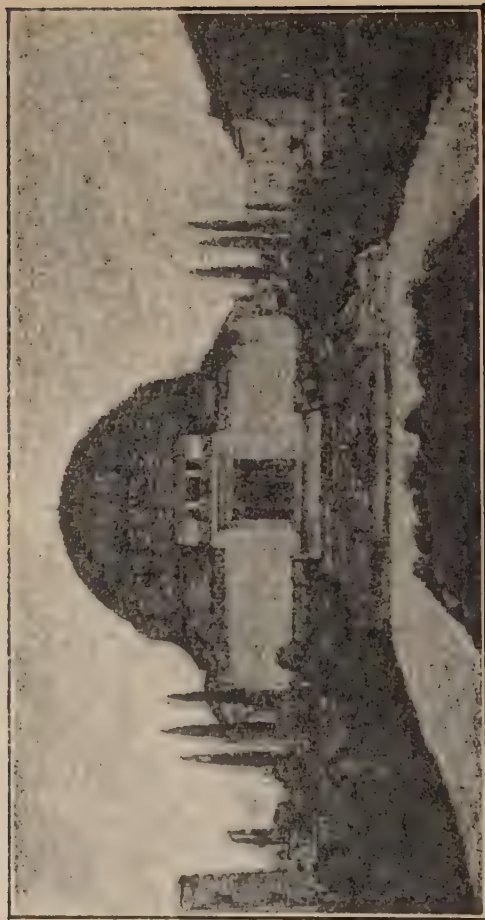
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XX.

THE NEW PALESTINE

Night has fallen over Palestine. As the stars brighten over Tel Aviv, the only Jewish city in the world, bonfires leap up to meet them from the streets below, streets named after the lovers and builders of Zion, Judah Halevi, Moses Hess, Ahad Ha'am, and, of course, Herzl. Jewish Boy Scouts pass, carrying their white flag with its great blue star; Jewish school girls join in a Hebrew song; a group of Chalutzim from one of the near-by colonies, broad-shouldered young men and sturdy young women with dark-tanned faces dance the Hora, shouting as they move. In the early days of Zion, Ben Yehudah was stoned in the streets of Jerusalem for urging that the newcomers to Palestine speak Hebrew as a living tongue. Tonight we hear it spoken by little children and learned professors, farmers from the colonies and business men from the towns, who all join gladly in the celebration honoring Chayim Nachman Bialik, greatest of living Hebrew poets. After writing with such tragic power of the Jew in exile, he, like Ahad Ha'am, has come to live in Palestine, where he sings the new songs of a re-born people.

1. The Balfour Declaration Ushers in a New Palestine. "When the Lord returned the captivity of Zion, we were as those who dream," ran the psalm of the joyful exiles who returned from Babylon to Palestine. To the Jew today the birth of the New Palestine seems almost a dream. First we have the heart-breaking struggles of the earliest builders;



THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY AT JERUSALEM

then, the vision of Herzl; the new hopes for Zion which were almost crushed out forever during the black nightmare of the World War. Jews who had toiled for years to build up their little farms in Palestine were forced to give up their crops and cattle to feed the Turkish army. Young Jewish colonists, who had left hated Russia, were still considered as Russian subjects; now that Turkey was at war with Russia, as well as England and France, they were obliged to leave Palestine as aliens.

The Palestinian Jews had little love for their Turkish masters under whose mis-government they had long suffered. They sympathized with England, long friendly to the Jew. Many of these Jewish settlers were accused of acting as spies. Palestine had its full quota of Jewish martyrs, among them the father and daughter of the Aaronson family which has done so much to reclaim the once stubborn soil. Both the young girl and the old man died bravely under the torture they endured rather than betray their English friends. The work of feeding the hungry, healing the sick and teaching the young was practically stopped; it was very hard to collect money from a world at war; even more difficult to send it to the suffering Palestinians.

Now through the darkness came the sunrise. A bit of good fortune came to the Jews which was so far reaching in its importance that it made the World War one of the greatest turning points in Jewish history. The destruction of the Temple in 70 C. E. had scattered the Jews over the face of the earth; the Discovery of America in 1492 provided them a place of refuge; the World War had changed the Jewish center from war-broken Europe to prosperous America. It did even more: it brought about the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

Lord Balfour of England may be called the modern Cyrus, since his Declaration, like the word of Cyrus, the Persian king,

brought a new day to Palestine. No wonder that Jews, even though they had suffered from the war for three years, rejoiced when they read these words: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

One of the first statesmen to approve of the Balfour Declaration was the American war-president, Woodrow Wilson. President Wilson had already shown his sympathy for the Jewish people by appointing as judge of the Supreme Court of the United States Louis D. Brandeis, then president of the Zionist Organization of America. There could not have been a better answer to the charge of the anti-nationalists, who believed that a Jew could not at the same time serve the Jewish nation and the country in which he lived. For Mr. Brandeis was not only an earnest Zionist but a loyal American. Now President Wilson publicly stated that he approved of Balfour's promise to aid the Jews in their struggle for a homeland.

The Balfour Declaration also received the support of the nations which had allied themselves with England and America during the War.

For once an invading army brought peace and healing to war-torn Palestine. One by one the outlying Turkish strongholds fell before the attacks of the English forces. As part of the British army marched the Judeans, several battalions of Jewish soldiers recruited in England and in America from among the young men who had not become citizens and were not expected to serve in the American army.

For the first time since the days of Bar-Kochba, Jewish soldiers were fighting under a Jewish flag for the Jewish land.

As the English troops under General Allenby crossed the hills which lie about Jerusalem, the Turkish defenders retreated; to them as to all Mohammedans Jerusalem is a Holy City; they did not wish it to suffer bombardment. Christians all over the world were thrilled at the news of the capture of the City of David, holy to them from the beginning of their religion. General Allenby dismounted and passed through the gates of Jerusalem on foot like a common soldier; he did not enter as a conqueror, but as a pious pilgrim into the ancient, beloved capital of the Jewish people.

2. **British Rule in Palestine.** You have already read how Balfour, even before the war ended, declared England ready to help the Jews in the rebuilding of Palestine. At a meeting of the League of Nations at San Remo in 1920, Great Britain was finally granted mandatory power over Palestine, while the Zionist Organization was to aid the British government in building up a Jewish homeland. It must be understood that this did not make the Jewish people a free and independent nation in Palestine. They did not become an independent Jewish state with their own government and their own army. Palestine became a mandatory province of the British Empire, which was to rule over the country as she rules over her other provinces, such as India, with a government of her own selection and an army to protect her subjects from other nations.

The first governor sent to rule over the new Palestine which came into being after the World War, was a British statesman, who was also a loyal Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel. For the first time since the days of the cruel Herodian kings a Jew sat in the ruler's chair at Jerusalem. But the Herodians, even if they had desired to better the lot of their people, were

powerless against their overlords of Rome. Now the English government, which Sir Herbert Samuel represented, encouraged and aided him in his work for Palestine.

Of course, the change of government, from the mismanaging Turks to the practical English, gave new life to the Zionist movement which had been forced to lessen its activities during the war. Charitable Jews the world over, whether Zionists or not, were more willing to send large sums of money to Palestine, now that they were assured that the hospitals and schools they founded would be protected. Business men from other lands were willing to risk their capital in new enterprises, which were in no danger of being overtaxed or swept away by the Turks. Colonists knew that the once unsanitary land, preyed upon by wandering Arab robbers, would now be a safe place in which to bring up their children.

3. Growth of Zionism After the World War. With British rule in Palestine and Chaim Weitzman as president of the World Zionist Organization, a new and brighter period for Zionism began. Weitzman, a Russian Jew by birth, rendered great service to the British army during the World War by his chemical experiments with high explosives. He was probably the most influential of all Jewish builders in bringing the problem of Palestine before the English government and, later, in securing the Balfour Declaration, which now placed Zionism on a firm basis for the Jews of the whole world. Not that all Jews desired Palestine as an independent Jewish state; but there were many Zionist sympathizers like the American Jewish leader, Louis Marshall, who recognized Palestine as a place of refuge for the persecuted Jews fleeing from Europe and excluded from America by new and stricter immigration laws. The group of Jews who desired Palestine to become the center of Jewish learning and culture also grew.

The war had left the Jews of eastern Europe, hitherto the most generous supporters of Zionism, very poor. But the Jews of America had grown not only in sympathy for Palestine but in wealth, during the war. Every year they sent enormous sums to Palestine; American gold saved the industries of Palestine and provided work for countless immigrants who flocked into the ancient homeland. It is estimated that there have been more than 40,000 of them in the eight years since the war.

4. Difficulties in Palestinian Colonization and Ways of Meeting Them. We must not think, however, that after the World War all the difficulties of settling Palestine disappeared. One of the greatest problems has been, and may always be, the land itself. Palestine is so stony that no farmer there laughs at the old Arab legend of the angel who emptied a sack of rocks over its fields. Vast spaces of the land are arid, but much may be done to make it fertile, even as Utah and parts of California have been made fertile, through irrigation. For six centuries Palestine has been allowed to slip back into the desert country which surrounds it; but scientific farmers like Aaron Aaronson, the discoverer of wild wheat, and the other workers at the Agricultural Station at Athlit, have already done much to reclaim the long barren fields.

But Palestine need not exist as an agricultural country only. At present it is poor in the power which would make factories possible, thus giving employment to many workers and building up the wealth of the country. There is little wood in Palestine and no coal; oil must be brought from Mesopotamia. But there is a tremendous force still to be used in the rapid descent of the Jordan River as it pours down to the Dead Sea. Rutenberg, the engineer, has been at work on a system of dams which will provide much power for the industries that Palestine so sorely needs. With

such power and a suitable harbor at Haifa, Palestine may become, because of its central position, one of the foremost industrial centers of the Near East.

Another difficulty which faced the early settlers is slowly disappearing. At first the native Arabs often became so hostile that they robbed and murdered the Jewish colonists, who could not depend upon Turkish protection, and had to form companies of Shomerim (watchers), mounted guards to keep off such attacks. Now, the Arabs are beginning to realize that the Jews never intended to drive them out of the country that they had occupied for so many years. There is room for both the Jew and the Arab, who also claims Abraham as his ancestor, even in little Palestine. Small as is the land it can be made larger by being better cultivated until it produces food for all who care to inhabit it.

While we must never forget that no one expects all, or even the greater part of the Jewish people to return to Palestine, we hope that it may some day become a refuge large enough for all the Jews who wish to go there. For there is no reason why it may not extend its boundaries into the fertile neighboring territories, still sparsely inhabited. But it is quite certain that the greater part of the Jewish people will continue to live in the lands of their adoption, scattered all over the world.

The early farmers of Palestine suffered severely from malaria; but now the swamps are being drained. The homes of Arabs, Christians and Jews, especially in the crowded quarters of Jerusalem, were miserable with dirt and disease; not only because most of the people were so poor, but also because they were so ignorant of modern methods of preventing sickness. Henrietta Szold, an American woman, formed the Hadassah (the myrtle), an organization bearing the Hebrew name of Queen Esther, with the beautiful motto—"for

the healing of my people." Hadassah brought the first trained nurses into Palestine; they did much to prevent blindness and other terrible afflictions; they went into the homes of the people and taught mothers, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, how to care for their babies; they brought health drills to the children in the Palestinian schools. Best of all, Hadassah formed a school for nurses in order that young girls growing up in Palestine might become trained to heal their people and conquer disease.

Today, because of Hadassah, Palestine is a healthier, happier country. The work goes on; not only health work, but milk for babies; free wholesome lunches for the poorer school children; clean, comfortable garments for the sick in Hadassah's hospitals. Pennies for these lunches are sent to Palestine by Jewish children from America; while all over this rich, prosperous country of ours Jewish mothers form Hadassah groups which sew and gather linen for the poor of Palestine.

5. Life in the Colonies in the Land of Israel. It would take too long to more than mention the happy life in the colonies. Here from early morning both men and women work in the fields for their daily bread. The little children are often kept in a large nursery, with just a mother or two to look after them, while the other mothers toil beside their husbands. Even the little ones work as soon as they are able. Many of these farmers were formerly business people or doctors; others were students in European universities. They might never have become successful farmers if it were not for the teaching they receive from the agricultural stations. But they have more than knowledge. These Chalutzim are working not only for themselves and their children; they know they are rebuilding Palestine. For in the words of a Hebrew Song, the Palestinian children sing on Chamisho

osor Be-Shevat (Arbor Day): "He who plants a tree plants a flag for his people."

6. Education in Palestine. Naturally, the children brought up in the colonies learn agriculture just as the American farm child learns it by watching his father and big brothers caring for the live stock, planting or reaping. There are also courses in agriculture in the schools as well as training in sewing and cooking. All of the lessons are taught in Hebrew. Imagine a lesson about David or Elijah, easily read in the very words in which it was written long before the Jew set out on his long world journey; or the study of Jewish history with the mountain or the brook or the plain mentioned in your lesson lying just beyond the schoolroom window!

The classes reach from the kindergarten to the newly opened Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. Lord Balfour, who presided and greeted the representatives of world governments and learned bodies, ended his address with the old Hebrew prayer, "Blessed be He who hath kept us alive to reach this day!" For the dedication of this University in 1925 was a great movement, not only in Jewish education, but in Jewish history. It meant not only that the young men and women of Palestine would be able to enjoy a higher education; nor even that Jewish students, forbidden to enter the universities of eastern Europe, might come to Palestine to study; but it was above all the fulfillment of the dream of such men as Ahad Ha'am. It proved that Palestine had become the home not only of the persecuted Jewish wanderers but of the Jewish spirit as well. The Wandering Jew had stumbled from land to land through the centuries carrying close to his ragged breast his Holy Book. Now the People of the Book were returning to the Land where the Book was born.

7. The Small Beginning of a Great Hope. The Chalutzim are writing the history of the Jew on the soil of Palestine; the Scholars are studying in the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. From all over the world Jews now turn their eyes to Palestine, not only in prayer but in expectancy. Centuries ago in the little land of Palestine the Jewish people brought forth a world religion and a world morality. They have wandered far; they bring back to the homeland the wisdom of many people, the strength that comes from great suffering nobly endured. None of us can say what the Jews of Palestine will contribute to the future of mankind. But we may all be certain that they will play a noble and a lofty part in the still Unwritten Chapters of this story.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the meaning of the Balfour Declaration? Its influence on the Jews?
2. The result of the Peace Conference on the situation in Palestine.
3. What have the British accomplished in Palestine since the War?
4. What are the difficulties for the Jews of Palestine to overcome?
5. What are they doing to overcome them?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. The Rutenberg Plan.
2. Economic resources of Palestine.
3. Education in Palestine, from kindergarten to the Hebrew University.
4. The British military campaign in Palestine.
5. Different types of Jewish colonies; how the people live in them.
6. The Children's Colony.

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- Leonard Stein: Zionism, chap. 4-7.
- John H. Finley: A Pilgrim in Palestine.
- Irma Lindheim: The Immortal Adventure, two travel books, the former by a Christian, the latter by a Jewess.
- Current numbers of the New Palestine; the Young Judean.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

- Ludwig Lewisohn: Israel, best for its description of the Communist and labor colonies.
- N. Bentwich: Palestine of the Jews, chap. 8, 9.
- Fosdick: A Pilgrimage to Palestine, a Christian attitude.
- Dr. Redcliffe N. Salomon: Palestine Reclaimed, the story of the Judeans.
- Sachar: Chap. 11, sections B and C.
- N. B. Wordsword: Palestine of the Mandate.
- Margolis and Marx: Chap. 97, 98.
- Patterson: With the Judeans in the Palestine Campaign.
- Marcus Ehrenpreis: The Soul of the East, a delightful account of a trip to Palestine by the Grand Rabbi of Sweden.

STILL UNWRITTEN CHAPTERS

The history of the new life in Palestine that we have just read ends with a question mark. Nor do we know the closing chapters of our Story of the Jew. For only the future can set them down for all men to read. We can only survey the Jew in the modern world, comparing his position today with the story of his past. Perhaps the future of the Jewish people will only be a rewriting of his past in slightly different words. But who can speak with certainty?

1. **The Jew in the World of Today.** In the opening pages of our Story of the Jew we turned back to the picture of a tribe of simple herdsmen, wandering from the desert into the fertile fields of Palestine. In this closing chapter, in the year 1928, we find the folk of Abraham a people scattered as the stars of the heaven, but still bound together by a tie that neither time nor distance nor persecution has ever broken. Fifteen million Jews are living in all the countries of the globe, in different surroundings, with different problems to face and solve. Each group is bound so very closely to the common past of Israel and to the whole community of Israel of today; yet each group must meet and conquer its own difficulties.

2. **The Future of the Jew in Palestine.** In our previous chapter we drew a picture of the new life in Palestine. There the problems which face the Jewish people must be worked out by the Jews themselves. It will be no easy

THE JEWS OF THE WORLD IN 1928

15,000,000 PERSONS - $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 4,000,000

WESTERN EUROPE, 1,400,000

36% of the Jews live in lands of COMPLETE FREEDOM.

EASTERN EUROPE, 5,400,000

36% live in lands of LITTLE OR NO FREEDOM.

SOVIET RUSSIA 2,800,000

20% live in the NEW COMMUNIST LANDS

160,000

1% live in the NEW PALESTINE

The other 1,000,000 or 7% live in AFRICA,
AUSTRALIA and rest of ASIA

task to reclaim a long-barren land, to build up new industries, to evolve a government that will not only be satisfactory to the Jews themselves, but a model for the governments of all the nations of the earth. The Jews of Palestine dare be satisfied with nothing less; for their builders dreamed and suffered and overcame that "The Law shall go forth from Zion and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

The second great task which confronts the Jews of Palestine is by far simpler. Palestine must become a Jewish center; Hebrew poetry and drama must be written there, Jewish art and music will become more Jewish, not because the artists and musicians are Jews, but because they will be living and working in Jewish surroundings. The Bezalel School, where Jews have drunk deeply of the beauties of the Palestinian mountains and valleys and streams until they have caught their outlines and colors for their canvases, has pointed the way. In the theaters of Palestine, Jewish actors not only produce the plays of European writers in Hebrew translation, but appear in plays written by and about Jews. Jewish music is being created by the Chalutzim who compose their own songs as they work in the fields or along the roads. This is not a revival of the glories of Israel's past. The Jews of Palestine are living and working in a modern society; in days to come they must surely contribute their share to the whole world's culture and wisdom.

But no matter how glorious the future history of Palestine is to be, there will still be thousands of Jews scattered all over the world with their own problems to face. What of the future of these sons of Israel in the many lands of their dispersion?

3. The Future of the Jew in Eastern Europe. Today two-fifths of all the Jews of the world live in eastern Europe. In such countries as Poland and Roumania their problem now

and perhaps for many years, is to keep alive. The boycott, which ruins countless Jewish merchants, unjust laws, and exclusion from the universities, are the same old problems the Jew has lived through again and again. In our own day the charity of his more fortunate brethren in richer and happier countries has kept him alive. The appeals of world Jewry have at least won promises that such injustices shall disappear. Meanwhile we can only hope that as a brighter day of goodwill and fair dealing dawns for all humanity, even such backward countries as Poland and Roumania will grant equality and freedom to their Jewish citizens.

4. The Future of the Jew in Soviet Russia. To the twenty per cent of the Jewish people living in Soviet Russia today comes the problem of adjustment to a new life. Russia under the Czars persecuted the Jews; Soviet Russia grants them equal rights with all her other citizens. But Soviet rule in Russia has brought financial ruin to many Jews. When the private business concerns were taken over by the government, not only did prosperous Jewish business men lose their fortunes, but numberless Jews, deprived of their only occupation as tradesmen found themselves without any means for making a living. How they will support themselves and their families, after being forced to drop one of the few employments which the Jews of Czarist Russia were allowed to follow, is one of the biggest problems of the Russian Jew today. Many Jews are being given a chance to earn a living through farming; those who do not join an agricultural colony must learn the old Jewish lesson of readjustment to new conditions.

A more serious matter to the Jews in Soviet Russia is the Soviet's attack not only upon Jewish but all religious training. Many observers wonder whether in Russia, where to organize a religious school is a crime against the government, the children of today can possibly grow up with a love for their

ancient faith. Irreligion is in the very air of Russia. Can the Jewish religion survive in such an atmosphere? And if the Jewish religion is crushed out, can the Jew survive in Russia?

5. **The Future of the Jew in America and Western Europe.** In America and the free lands of Western Europe we find about two-fifths of the Jewish people. Here again their problem is one of survival. In countries where the Jew is treated exactly like his non-Jewish neighbor, he no longer feels the urge to fight as vigorously for his faith as in times of persecution. Gradually he becomes absorbed in the life of his Christian neighbors; he may even want to drop his Judaism, not because he is forced to from the outside, but because he may wish to forget the one thing which makes him different from those about him. Can the Jew survive for any length of time among conditions of perfect equality and freedom?

Jewish leaders in western Europe and America believe this problem can be met through Jewish education. They say that young Jews trained in the history and the traditions of their people will never be willing to lay aside the faith for which their fathers struggled in less happy days. If among the Jewish children in our religious schools many can be trained to be real leaders of their people in the future, there need be little fear for Judaism even in the countries where it seems easiest to drift into indifference and forgetfulness.

Jewish unity is also necessary for Jewish survival. The World War, with all its horrors, brought one real blessing to Israel. Jews of America, who had held themselves apart from other Jewish groups, were drawn closer together; Jews from Germany and Russia alike worked untiringly to collect funds for the Jewish war sufferers whether they dwelt in

Poland or in Palestine. United efforts for the rebuilding of Palestine have also helped many Jews to remember that all Israel are brothers.

At the granting of the British Mandate at San Remo an attempt was made to create a Jewish Agency; this was to be composed of leading Jews from all over the world, for the purpose of assisting Great Britain in governing Palestine. After years of effort on the part of both Zionists and non-Zionists, a meeting was finally held in New York in October, 1928, when the leading non-Zionists of the United States agreed to join the Jewish Agency, together with the Zionists, for practical work in Palestine. It will take time to develop such an agency; but it should do much in time not only for the upbuilding of the ancient homeland, but also for the unity of Israel all over the world.

6. Will the still Unwritten Chapter repeat the Chapters of the Past? The problems that confront the Jews today in Palestine, in Europe, and in America, are not new. We have faced every one of them before in some phase of our long wanderings. The rebuilding of the land and the spirit of the Jew in Palestine is a tremendous task; so was it in the day of Nehemiah, but the Jew rebuilt his walls and the men of the Great Synagogue refashioned a finer and a truer Judaism. Conditions are truly frightful in Poland and Roumania; in a modern world these two countries, especially Roumania, seem survivals of the dark and cruel Middle Ages. But the Jew survived the horrors of medieval Europe, and he will survive persecution again. Russia forces the Jew to adapt himself to a changed world; but the wandering people who have learned the lessons of the east and of the west, who have passed from the cramped ghetto into the broad freedom of the modern world, should again be able to fit themselves into a new scheme of life.

In America the Jew again discovers a page that reads like older chapters in his history. The Jews of Egypt under Greek rule, and later among the Moslems of Spain, although undoubtedly influenced by their kindly rulers, still remained Jews. In Egypt, Philo arose; the later period produced a Maimonides. History may repeat itself in America. Time passes, conditions change, but the Jew survives.

We can no longer follow the Wanderer in his journey that has brought him down to our own day. Let us look our last upon him, an old man, white-haired but vigorous, a traveler's staff in his hand. He has seen many cities rise to power and fall into decay; he has sat at the tables of beggars and of princes; he is very ancient and yet he has the strength of youth. For still clasped to his heart is the Book of the fathers, the Book he has carried through all of his painful wanderings, and in its pages are eternal life. Perhaps his wanderings will soon be over; in the homeland of Palestine, in the lands which have opened their gates to him in every corner of the globe, his children have found a dwelling place. But the message of his Book must continue to echo through the world. It is the message of his ancient prophets, the call to worship and to obey a righteous God. True to this prophetic ideal the Jew has endured through a history longer and more varied than that of any other people. It is this ideal which has given him everlasting life. For this prophetic ideal is eternal truth and can never die.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many Jews are living in the world today? Where do they live?
2. What are the problems of the Jews in Palestine?
3. What is the chief problem of the Jews in eastern Europe? Where will it be solved? How?

4. What is our chief problem as Jews in America? Is it greater or less than those of other lands?
5. What are the problems of the Jews of Russia?
6. Has Jewish history a lesson? What do you think the lesson is?

TOPICS FOR REPORTS AND DEBATES

1. Resolved, that the tendency of American Jewish youth is favorable to the future of the Jewish people.
2. Work out the comparison of one of the Jewish situations of today with one in the past, as suggested in this chapter. Show the parallel by facts.
3. Hebrew folk songs in Palestine, an interesting subject for a musician in the class. Some of these have been published in America; and many of these will be found in a collection edited by A. W. Binder.
4. The answer to anti-Semitism.
5. Unity in world Jewry.

REFERENCES FOR PUPILS

Israel Cohen: The Journal of a Jewish Traveller.

Jewish periodicals will give you many facts, and their files have some excellent articles. See especially the Jewish Daily Bulletin, and its files.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS

Israel Zangwill: The Voice of Jerusalem.

Ludwig Lewisohn: The Island Within.

Sachar: Chap. 9.

American Jewish Yearbook for statistics.

Dubnow: Jewish History—a philosophy of Jewish history.

Maurice Samuel: You Gentiles, a different viewpoint from this book, with many suggestive points.

De Lacretelle: Silberman, a novel of Jewish life in France.

Tobenkin: God of Might, a study of intermarriage in America.

IMPORTANT DATES

Jewish History

B. C. E.

2000—Abraham.
1400—Moses.
1150-1013—The Judges.
1013-973—King David.
973-933—Solomon.
933-722—The Kingdom of Israel.

750—Amos, Hosea.
735-700—Isaiah preached.
621—Reformation under King Josiah.

586—Destruction of Jerusalem.

538—First return from Babylon.

458—Second return under Ezra.

445—Nehemiah governor of Judea.
Rule by the High Priests.

168—Judaism attacked by Antiochus.
Revolt of the Maccabees.
165—The Temple rededicated.

135-104—John Hyrcanus.

63—Pompey enters Jerusalem.

37-4—Herod the Great, King.
Hillel.

World History

B. C. E.

2100—Hammurabi, king of Babylon.
Egypt and Babylonia, the great empires of the world.

840—Rise of Assyria.
776—The first Olympiad in Greece.
753—Legendary founding of Rome.

612—Babylonia conquers Assyria.

539—Persia conquers Babylonia.

480—Persia invades Greece.

450—Pericles: golden age of Athens.

333—Alexander conquers Persia.
323—Death of Alexander the Great.

Palestine belongs to Egypt.
249—Syria takes Palestine from Egypt.

146—Rome destroys Carthage.
139—Judea recognized by Rome.
Jews expelled from city of Rome.

66—Rome conquers Syria.

50—Julius Caesar rules Rome.

30—Augustus Emperor of Rome.

IMPORTANT DATES—Continued

Jewish History

C. E.

30—Crucifixion of Jesus.

40—Philo leads an embassy to Rome.

66—The Jews rebel against Rome.

70—Jerusalem destroyed by Titus.
The school at Jabneh founded.

132-5—Insurrection of Bar Kochba.

Jerusalem called Aelia Capitolina.

Death of Akiba.

200—Judah the Prince compiles the Mishna

219—Academy founded at Sura in Babylonia.
Rab and Samuel.

254—Academy of Pumbeditha founded.

300—Jerusalem Talmud completed.

The Talmudic era, the Amoraim.

500—Babylonian Talmud completed.
The Saboraim.

535—First anti-Jewish Laws in France.

589—Beginning of the Gaonim.

612—Anti-Jewish laws in Spain.

World History

C. E.

14-37—Tiberius Emperor.
Procurators rule Judea.

69—Vespasian Emperor.

117—Hadrian becomes Emperor.

226—The Sassanids conquer Parthia, enemies of Rome.

325—Council of Nicaea, Christianity official religion of Roman Empire.

400—The Teutons enter the Roman Empire.

476—Fall of Rome.

481—Founding of Kingdom of the Franks.

529—Justinian closes the schools at Athens; learning travels to Syria and Persia.

IMPORTANT DATES—Continued

Jewish History

C. E.

740—Conversion of the Chazars.
767—Anan begins the Karaite movement.

930—Saadiah Gaon of Sura.
950—Chasdai ibn Shaprut in Spain.
960—Moses ben Enoch comes to Spain.

1038—End of the Gaonim.

1069—Death of Solomon ibn Gabirol.

1105—Death of Rashi in France.
1135-1205—Maimonides.
1141—Death of Judah Halevi.
1144—Ritual murder charge in England.

1190—Riots in England against Jews.

1244—Talmud burned in Paris.
1267—Nachmanides goes to Palestine.

1290—Jews expelled from England.

1293—Death of Meir of Rothenburg.

1300—Moses de Leon produces the Zohar.

1348—Jews emigrate to Poland.

1394—Jews expelled from France.

World History

C. E.

622—Mohammed, the Hegira.
638—The Moslems take Palestine.
711—The Moslems conquer Spain.

800—Charlemagne becomes Emperor.

880—King Alfred in England.

1016—Russia ends the Chazar kingdom.

1066—The Norman Conquest of England.

1096—The first Crusade, massacres in the Rhineland.

1099—The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

1146—The Second Crusade.

1187—Saladin captures Jerusalem.

1192—Third Crusade.

1215—Council of the Lateran; the Jewish badge.

1240—Mongol conquers in Europe.

1348—The Black Death

IMPORTANT DATES—Continued

Jewish History

- 1470—Massacres in Spain.
- 1492—The great expulsion from Spain.
- 1496—Jews expelled from Portugal.
- 1516—Venice introduces the Ghetto.
- 1536—Jews settle in the Netherlands.
- 1567—Joseph Caro writes the Shulchan Aruch.
- 1569—Isaac Luria goes to Safed.
- 1648—Massacres in Poland.
- 1654—Jews settle in New Amsterdam.
- 1655—Jews readmitted to England.
- 1665—Shabbatai Zevi claims to be the Messiah.
- 1677—Baruch Spinoza dies.
- 1680—First congregation in New York.
- 1760—Death of Israel Baal Shem Tov.
- 1786—Death of Moses Mendelssohn.
- 1791—Jews of France become citizens.
Pale of Settlement begun by Catherine of Russia.

World History

- 1415—Burning of John Huss.
- 1453—Turks capture Constantinople.
- 1480—Inquisition in Spain.
- 1492—Columbus discovers America.
- 1517—Luther begins the Reformation.
- 1530—Charles V, Emperor.
- 1547—Ivan, first Czar of Russia.
- 1588—Spanish Armada. Elizabeth Queen of England.
- 1607—Jamestown, Va., settled.
- 1648—Treaty of Westphalia, end of Thirty Years' War.
- 1649—England a republic.
- 1660—The Restoration in England.
- 1701—Frederick I, first king of Prussia.
- 1772—Partition of Poland.
- 1776—Declaration of Independence.
- 1789—Federal Constitution of U. S.
French Revolution began.

IMPORTANT DATES—Continued

Jewish History

1797—Death of Elijah, the Vilna Gaon.

1807—Sanhedrin in France.

1810—First reform synagogue at Seesen, Germany.

1812—Death of Meyer Amschel, founder of the house of Rothschild.

1840—Damascus blood accusation.

1843—B'nai B'rith founded.

1856—Heinrich Heine dies.

1858—Mortara case in Italy.
Jews admitted to English Parliament.

1860—Gabriel Riesser dies.
Alliance Israelite.
Universelle.

1862—Judah P. Benjamin, secretary of state of Confederate States.

1868—Benjamin Disraeli, prime minister of Great Britain.

1870—Adolph Cremieux, Minister of France.

1873—Union American Hebrew Congregations.

1882—May Laws in Russia.
Migration of Russian Jews to U. S.

1884—Sir Moses Montefiore dies.

World History

1804—Napoleon I, Emperor of France.

1815—Battle of Waterloo.
The Holy Alliance.

1825—Nicholas I, Czar of Russia.

1848—Year of revolutions in Germany, France, Austria, Italy.

1861—Kingdom of Italy founded.
1861-5—American Civil War.

1870—Franco-Prussian War.

1871—German Empire founded.

1878—Treaty of Berlin, Roumania is recognized; citizenship rights promised.
Anti-Semitism begins in Germany.

IMPORTANT DATES—Continued

Jewish History

- 1885—First Jewish peer in England.
1896—Herzl writes the Jewish State.
1897—First Zionist Congress at Basle.
1900—Isaac M. Wise dies.
1903—Kishineff pogrom.
1905—Russian rebellion; pogroms.
1911—Beilis trial in Russia.
1913—Rufus Isaacs, Lord Chief Justice of England.
1916—Louis D. Brandeis, Justice of Supreme Court of U. S.
1917—Balfour Declaration. Jews of Russia freed.
1920—Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner of Palestine.
1921—Lord Reading, Viceroy of India.
1922—Walter Rathenau, foreign minister of Germany, murdered.
1925—Hebrew University dedicated.
1926—Death of Israel Zangwill.
1927—Death of Ahad Ha'am.

World History

- 1894—Dreyfus tried in France.
1898—Spanish-American War.
1904—Russo-Japanese War.
1911—Treaty with Russia abrogated by U. S.
1914—World War.
1917—Russian Revolution.
1918—German Revolution.
1919—Treaty of Versailles.
1920—League of Nations, first meeting; British Mandate for Palestine confirmed.
1924—U. S. limits immigration by quota law.

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